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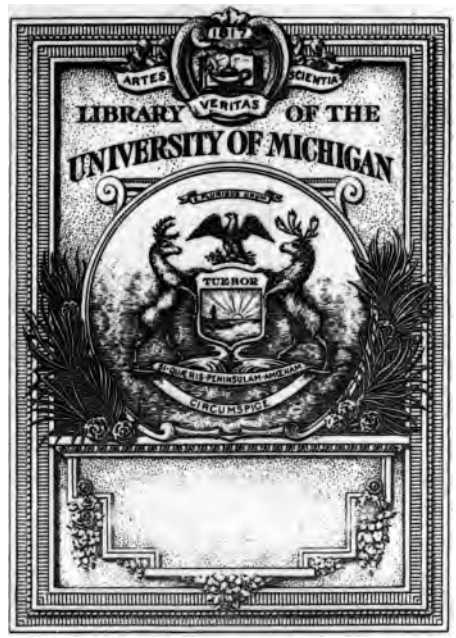

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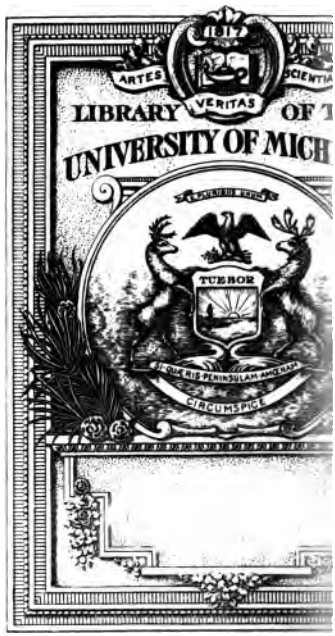
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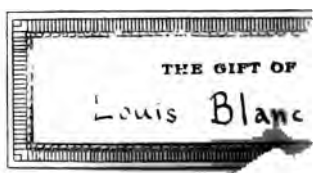
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MY BROTHER AND I

SELECTED PAPERS ON SOCIAL TOPICS

BY

FARRAR, HUGHES, GLADDEN, GUSTAFSON, ELY, CABLE, RIIS, MITCHELL, AND BEHRENDS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

WILLIAM INGRAHAM HAVEN

NEW YORK: HUNT & EATON
CINCINNATI: CRANSTON & CURTS

chapters. So that, with the advice which I have had from many sources, "I am debtor both to the Greeks, and to the Barbarians; both to the wise, and to the unwise."

The books from which the chapters have been taken are timely and worthy. They would themselves make a good beginning for a library on social questions.

If the young people of our churches are stimulated to take up these problems, and to read more widely and think more deeply concerning them, the purpose of the volume will be attained.

WILLIAM INGRAHAM HAVEN.

Brookline, Mass.

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AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER?

MY BROTHER AND I.

AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER?

By Frederick W. Farrar, D.D.

WE hear much in these days of what is called the "higher criticism"—in other words, of the application of critical, literary, historic methods to the documents and the narratives of Scripture. The method and its results are viewed by many with vague but unnecessary alarm. For this, at least, is certain, that no criticism can touch the spiritual depth, the moral instructiveness, enshrined in the pages of the Bible.

Whether the story of Cain and Abel be taken for literal history, or for profound allegory, there is not a line of it which does not breathe such wisdom as we could

not parallel in the books of all the sages. In the envy of Cain; in God's revelation to him that every righteous offering will be accepted, but that the sacrifice of the wicked is abomination to the Lord; in the solemn warning that his peril lay in the wild beast of sin crouching at the door of his heart; in the rapidity with which the smoldering grudge broke out into the fiery wrath of murder, we have deep and abundant lessons. In the fact that so headlong was man's collapse from his original innocence that of the first two human beings born into the world the eldest grew up to be a murderer, and the younger to be his murdered victim, we have a terrible glimpse into that apostasy of man's evil heart of which we see the bitter fruits in every walk we take in the common streets.

All national history, all war, every prison, every penitentiary; all riot, disorder, and sedition; that devilish type of manhood in which every other passion is merged into an incarnate rage; the deadly struggles of

capital and labor; anarchy with its victims shattered by dynamite and its cities blazing with petroleum; incendiary tumults, the "red-fool fury" of revolution, with its carmagnole and its guillotine—yes, the records of crime and brutality and suicide and internecine struggle which crowd our newspapers from day to day—are but awful comments on these few verses of the fourth chapter of Genesis and indications of the consequences which follow the neglect of their tremendous lessons. All this, however, I must pass over, to fix your mind briefly on the fragment of the sequel.

Abel lay on the green grass, and earth's innocent flowers shuddered under the dew of blood. "And the Lord said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said,"—for the first murderer is also the first liar—"I know not;" and he insolently added—for the first murderer is also the first egotist—"Am I my brother's keeper?" But the Lord sweeps aside the daring falsehood, the callous question.

"And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground. And now art thou cursed." And Cain fled to the land of his exile with the brand of Heaven's wrath on his soul and on his brow.

And here, my friends, I leave the narrative to speak to you of its significance for us all these millenniums afterward. Briefly it must be, and very inadequately. All I can do is to impress a great principle, to deepen in our minds the sense of a solemn duty. Applications must be left to our own consciences and to other discourses. Yet there should be enough in the considerations which I would fain bring before you to awaken our serious thoughts. We each of us ask, in words and in our lives, "Am I my brother's keeper?" God answers to each of us, "You are!" The world, with all its might, answers, "No! I am not." Vast multitudes of merely nominal Christians—all those who are content with the dead Judaism of a decent, functional,

and superficial religionism—all the vast army of the compromisers and the conventionalists—while they say, or half say, with their reluctant lips, "Yes, I am my brother's keeper," yet act and live in every respect as if they were not. There is little practical difference between their conduct and that of the godless world. Did not Christ indicate this when he described the two sons, of whom the bold rebel said, "I will not go into the vineyard," and the smooth, respectable hypocrite said, "I go, sir," and went not? Alas! we ordinary Christians are a very poor lot indeed. We have preached Christ for centuries,

> "Until men almost learn to scoff,
> So few seem any better off."

And if some, like the sneering lawyer, interpose an excuse and ask, "Who is my brother?" the answer is the same as that which Christ gave in the parable of the good Samaritan. All men are our brethren; all who sin, all who suffer, all who lie murdered like Abel, sick and wounded like

the poor traveler—where they have been left by the world's thieves and murderers, where they lie neglected by the frosty-hearted priest and the scrupulously sacrificing Levite, on the hot and dusty wayside of the world.

Yes, all men are our brothers; and when we injure them by lies which cut like a sharp razor, by sneers, by innuendoes, by intrigues, by slander and calumny, by hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, by want of thought or by want of heart, by the lust of gain, by neglect, by absorbing selfishness, we are inheritors of the spirit of the first murderer.

But let us confine our thoughts to those who most pressingly need our services—to the great masses of the poor, the oppressed, the wretched, the hungry, the lost, the outcast. I will enter into no disquisition to account either for their existence or our responsibility for it. I will only say that among them lies, in some form or other, a great sphere of our duty, which, if

we neglect for our pleasure, we neglect also at our peril. I need hardly pause to prove that this is our duty to our fellow-men, and above all to our suffering fellow-men. It is the unvarying lesson of Scripture. It is the essential message of the grand old Hebrew prophets. It was the frequent theme of Christ. It was the repeated exhortation of his apostles and evangelists. We are constantly told by callous and worldly persons what a crime it is to give to a beggar; we are constantly lectured on our "maudlin sentimentality" if we aid the starving families of men on strike. Even newspapers that are supposed to be specially Christian have no scorn too acrid for propositions dictated by a generous if perplexed sympathy for which they can find no better terms than "verbal poultices," "sickly fluidity," and "hysteric gush." One sees how summarily Isaiah and St. James would have been trampled into contempt by the criticisms of these gentlemen.

Well, let us by all means attend to our

political economy, let us by all means tame down the splendid passion of the prophets, lest it should seem socialistic; and the generous impulse of the philanthropist, lest it should interfere with the ratepayer. But, in Heaven's name, let us not forget that, when all is said and done by those who rightly discourage mere casual dole-giving, the majestic claims of charity are not exhausted. We have not quite done our duty to the world of the wretched when we have proved to our own satisfaction that men whose passionate love for their fellow-men has reclaimed thousands of the arabs of our streets, and preached the Gospel to the lowest of the poor, are contemptible fanatics. Is it, indeed, the case that as we loll in our luxurious armchairs we not only need give nothing to help these efforts, but can even afford to look down from the whole height of our paltry conventionalism on workers who have more of the love of God and man in their little fingers than any ordinary thou-

sand of us have in our whole loins? I esteem far higher the burning desire to help their fellow-men, the strenuous effort to carry that desire into effect, which actuates men who are the common sneer of worldlings and of religious newspapers, than I estimate the thin respectability and smug decorum of thousands of commonplace churchmen. These lovers of their brethren have not only criticised and sneered—they have rescued the perishing, they have cared for the dying, they have healed the broken-hearted, they have wrought and fought, and toiled and prayed, and suffered. James Russell Lowell was a poet, a statesman, a man of the world. You know his poem, "A Parable:"

> "Said Christ our Lord, 'I will go and see
> How the men, my brethren, believe in me.'"

The chief priests and rulers and kings welcomed him with state and with pompous services;

> "Great organs surged through arches dim
> Their jubilant floods in praise of Him;

And in church and palace and judgment hall
He saw his image high over all.
But still, wherever his steps they led
The Lord in sorrow bent down his head;
And from under the heavy foundation stones
The Son of Mary heard bitter groans.
Have ye founded your thrones and altars then
On the bodies and souls of living men?
And think ye that building shall endure
Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor?"

In vain they pleaded their customs and their religious rites:

"Then Christ sought out an artisan,
A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,
And a motherless girl whose fingers thin
Pushed from her faintly want and sin.
These led he in the midst of them,
And as they drew back their garments' hem
For fear of defilement, 'Lo! here,' said he,
'The images ye have made of me!'"

The lesson is full of warning. That there is an almost shoreless sea of misery around us, which rolls up its dark waves to our very doors; that thousands live and die in the dim borderland of destitution; that little children wail and starve and perish, and soak and blacken soul and sense in our streets; that there are hundreds and

thousands of the unemployed, not all of whom, as some would persuade us, are lazy impostors; that the demon of drink still causes among us daily horrors which would disgrace Dahomey or Ashantee, and rakes into his coffers millions of pounds which are wet with tears and red with blood—these are facts patent to every eye. Now, God will work no miracle to mend these miseries. If we neglect them they will be left uncured, but he will hold us responsible for the neglect. It is vain for us to ask, "Am I my brother's keeper?" In spite of all the political economists, in spite of all superfine theories of chilly and purse-saving wisdom, in spite of all the critics of the irreligious—still more of the semi-religious and the religious press, he will say to the callous and the slothful, with such a glance "as struck Gehazi with leprosy and Simon Magus with a curse," "What hast thou done? Smooth religionist, orthodox churchman, scrupulous Levite, befringed and bephylacteried Pharisee,

thy brother's blood crieth to me from the ground!" And this awful appeal which he is always making to us arouses a murmur, a hiss, a shout of reclamation. The respectable say, "Are we rich, we clever, we refined people, we who thank God we are not as that fanatic, are we our brother's keeper?" And the scornful nabobs say, "What have we to do with these pariahs, these hangers-on of the ginshops, these noisy demagogues?" Was not St. James thinking of such when, writing to the wealthy and religious respectabilities of his day, he sternly arraigned their callous selfishness with the charge, "Ye have despised the poor?" There are many ways of asking the question of Cain. There is that of coarse ignorance; of men steeped in the greed and hardness of gold who say outright, with Tennyson's "Northern Farmer," that "the poor in a lump is bad." But it may also be asked in a spirit which robs even charity of its compassionateness and makes a gift more maddening and

more odious than a blow. Nor are they excusable who disclaim their responsibility to the world of anguish in the spirit of indifferent despair. How many find an excuse for doing practically nothing by saying, "What good can we do? Of what earthly use is it?" And then, perhaps, they triumphantly quote the words of Deuteronomy, "The poor shall never cease out of the land." Ah, why do they invariably forget the words which follow: "Therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt surely open thy hand unto thy brother, to thy needy, and to thy poor in the land. Thou shalt surely give him, and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him: because that for this thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy works, and in all that thou puttest thine hand unto?" This despair of social problems is ignoble and is unchristian. "I know," says Mr. Ruskin, "that there are many who think the atmosphere of misery which wraps the lower orders of

Europe more closely every day as natural a phenomenon as a hot summer. But God forbid! There are ills which flesh is heir to, and troubles to which man is born; but the troubles which he is born to are as sparks which fly upward, not as flames burning to the nethermost hell. The poor we must have with us always, and sorrow is inseparable from any hour of life; but we may make their poverty such as shall inherit the earth, and the sorrow such as shall be hallowed by the hand of the Comforter with everlasting comfort. We can, if we will but shake off this lethargy and dreaming that is upon us and take the pains to think and act like men." Once more, there is an unfaithfulness which does not, indeed, challenge God with the question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" The poets, with that insight which makes them the deepest of moral teachers, have seen this most clearly. Coleridge speaks of

> "The sluggard Pity's vision-weaving tribe
> Who sigh for wretchedness, yet shun the wretched,

Nursing in some delicious solitude
Their dainty loves and slothful sympathies."

Wordsworth sings that we are living in days

"When good men
On every side fall off we know not how
To selfishness, disguised in gentle names
Of peace and quiet and domestic love."

If it is only the basest men who are drowned and besotted in their own selfish and sensual individualism—the *égoïsme à soi*—many even good men and women have need to be seriously on their guard against the slightly expanded selfishness—the *égoïsme à plusieurs*—which wholly absorbs them in the interests of their own children and their own families, till it blinds their eyes to the fact that they do nothing else. There is a serious danger to us all lest our narrow domesticity should gradually enervate many of our nobler instincts by teaching indifference to the public weal as a sort of languid virtue. "I live among my own people." Yes; but God made me also a citizen of his kingdom.

"Life," said Lacordaire, "when limited to itself, borders closely upon selfishness. Even its very virtues, if they do not seek to extend themselves over a wider area, are apt to succumb to the narrow fascination it exerts." Many a man, in his affection and service to his family, forgets that he belongs also to the collective being; that he cannot without guilt sever himself from the needs of his parish, of his nation, of his race, of the poor, of the miserable, of the oppressed. If he is to do his duty in this life he must help them, he must think for them, he must sympathize with them, he must give to them. We must not be like the churlish Nabal, saying, "There be many servants nowadays that break away, every man from his master. Shall I then take my bread and my wine and my flesh that I have killed for my shearers, and give it unto men whom I know not whence they be?" We must not be like Dives, arrayed in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously every day,

while Lazarus lies neglected—and, in all but vain words, unpitied—at our doors. The old Epicurean poet Lucretius says that "it is sweet when the winds are sweeping the waters into storm, in some great sea, to watch the dread toiling of another from the shore." The feeling of the Christian must be the very opposite to this. He must man the lifeboat. If he be too weak to row he must steer; if he cannot steer he must help to launch it; if he must leave even that to stronger arms, then

> "As one who stands upon the shore,
> And sees the lifeboat go to save,
> And all too weak to take an oar,
> I send a cheer across the wave."

At the very least he must solace and help and shelter and supply the needs of the poor shipwrecked mariners. The meanest position of all and the commonest is to stand still and do nothing but chatter and criticise, and say that the lifeboat is a bad one and not fit to be used, or that it is being launched in quite the wrong way and

by quite the wrong people. Worst and wickedest of all is it to stand still and call those fools and fanatics who are bearing the burden and heat of the day. The best men suffer with those whom they see suffer. They cannot allay the storm; yet, since the cry knocks against their very hearts, they would at least aid those who are doing more than themselves to rescue the perishing. They would at least sympathize and help, and, at the lowest, give. I commend these thoughts to your earnest consideration, and having set before you the general principle and the general duty, I conclude with a practical application. Of this we may be sure, that character, not creed, service, not form, is the test, and the sole test, which, alike in the Old and New Testament, God invariably requires of us. It is love which is the fulfilling of the law. It is only by keeping the commandments that we can enter into life. We may come before God in the bluest of orthodox fringes and the broadest of Pharisaic phy-

lacteries, we may belong to the only right organization, we may hold to the only right opinions about priests and sacraments, we alone may be careful about keeping the rubrics with the most scrupulous accuracy, but all this will be valueless, nay, as hateful, in the sight of God, if it be unaccompanied by charity and service, as were the mint, anise, and cumin of the arrogant and exclusive Pharisees and priests who murdered the Christ for whom they professed to look. There is but one test with God of orthodoxy, of catholicity, of membership of the kingdom of heaven. It is given in the last utterance of Revelation by the beloved disciple. It sweeps away with one breath nine tenths of the fictions and falsities of artificial orthodoxy and fanatical religionism. It is: "He that doeth righteousness is righteous," and "He that doeth righteousness is born of God."

CHRIST THE GREATEST OF SOCIAL REFORMERS.

CHRIST THE GREATEST OF SOCIAL REFORMERS.

By Hugh Price Hughes, M.A.

THE barest justice demands that Christ should have all the glory which we now associate with the word "freedom." Every ancient government, whatever it called itself, was really an absolute despotism. The Greek had no personal rights whatever against the State. All the State did was "right." There was no higher law than the law of the land, and the law of the land was a law in which the few oppressed the many, and in which the rich despised the poor. If that is no longer the case it is entirely due to Jesus Christ. The fact is that when Christ came, in the world to which he came, man *as man* was nothing, and had no rights. The State pursued its own selfish and sordid ends

without any regard to the sacred personal rights of the individual. Hence war and lust and anguish unspeakable.

We cannot be too frequently reminded that ancient society was founded upon utter contempt for man *as man.* It is the more necessary that we should insist upon this to-day, because there are some very gifted and sincere, though ill-informed writers, who try to persuade us, and especially try to persuade the young men and young women of our time, that Christianity is essentially a selfish religion, that Christianity has taught men to neglect their human duty and to be absorbed in a selfish endeavor to escape from hell and to get to heaven. I do not deny that some very sincere Christians may have presented such a caricature of Christianity as that. But when we begin to investigate the question historically we shall find that, apart altogether from the influence of Jesus Christ upon our future, he has already done more for society in Europe than all the

great reformers before him, and that everything in the existing civilization of this country of which we have any right to be proud is due to Jesus Christ. He was the greatest social reformer the world has ever seen. He did not only more for heaven, but a great deal more for earth. than was ever done before. If any of us have formed so mutilated a conception of his teaching as to imagine that the Christian ideal is to save our own souls and neglect our fellow-citizens, so much the worse for us.

Read your Bible with your eyes open, read history with your eyes open, and then you will see that however fearfully individual Christians may have neglected their duty Jesus Christ came into this world to save human society as well as to save individuals. Indeed, you cannot effectually save the one without saving the other. I implore you to remember that when Christ came man *as man* had no rights whatever, and if that was the case even with man I

need scarcely say it was much more the case with woman. There are some in the present day who even dare to tell us that Buddha was more illustrious than Christ. What has Buddha done for woman in comparison with what Christ has done for her? When Christ came woman was regarded throughout the whole civilized world as a necessary evil, as a slave, as alternately the plaything and the plague of man; and if every man owes so much to Christ every woman owes a great deal more. In the "good old times" before Christ came physical force was in the ascendant, and the result was that woman, having less physical strength than man, was everywhere degraded and enslaved.

And if women were infamously treated, much more were children. What has Buddha done for children? In every country where the influence of Buddha prevails infanticide is practiced and sanctioned. So it was in the Roman empire and in Greece. Take the masterpiece of

ancient literature, the ideal *Republic* of Plato, which is the special study of every classical scholar. Well, Plato, in his ideal *Republic*, makes provision, on a gigantic scale, for the murder of superfluous children. Let the men of Europe, and especially the workingmen of Europe, who have never had the opportunity of individual research, and who are in danger of being misled by the use of such words as "republic" and "freedom," distinctly understand that when Jesus Christ, the greatest of all social reformers, came into this world there was no protection for the weak, there was no comfort for the sorrowful, there was no effective restraint for the wicked.

Christ came and the great revolution began at once. They said of his disciples, soon after his crucifixion, that they were revolutionists, and that they turned the world upside down; and the impeachment was true. They were the greatest revolutionists the world has ever seen. They in-

troduced into human society ideas which had never entered the head of man before, and the only pity is that their revolution has not gone a great deal further. When Jesus Christ came into this world he began to address crowds of poor people in the open air and to speak of their Father in heaven. The very fact that he should address the crowd at all and speak of God as the Father of every one of them—and we know that there were many publicans and sinners in that crowd—was in itself a revolution. That God should have a fatherly relation and a tender love to everybody was an unheard-of and a most revolutionary idea. Then listen to the positive teaching of Christ as found in such a passage as that which forms my text, a passage which states that "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth"—that a man's real life does not consist in the possession of money-bags, or of titles, or of social position.

Why, we do not believe that yet, so revolutionary is the idea, so saturated are we still with the old pagan notions that prevailed before Christ came. If I were to meet you in Oxford Street and say, "What is Mr. So-and-So worth?" you would instantly begin to think of his banker. You would naturally suppose that I wanted to know how many money-bags he had, believing, like the old heathen, that a man's worth depended upon the money he possessed. Jesus Christ contradicts that idea. He says that a man's worth depends upon his mental quality, and yet more upon his moral quality, apart altogether from anything else. And to prove how absolutely unnecessary it is to have plenty of money Jesus Christ himself had none. He was one of the poorest men that ever lived, and yet the very greatest. We have not yet understood the immense significance of the fact that Jesus Christ had no money, and that he set before us as the ideal man a man who had no money. If a man with-

out any money came to some of our magnificent places of worship to-day we should not give him a seat of honor.

A very observant and gifted foreigner who lately visited this country went away from England with the conviction that there is no country in the world where poverty is so much despised as it is in England. We may deny that. But perhaps other people are better judges of us than we are of ourselves. This eminent visitor said that in many sections of English society poverty is practically regarded as a crime. You will remember Mr. Pearse's striking illustration of that widespread notion. He says you often read in Christian biography that such a one was born of "poor but pious parents." Why that "but?" Why do we never read of "rich but pious parents?" Why should our phraseology assume that there is a kind of natural antagonism between poverty and piety? Jesus Christ says that "A man's life consisteth not in the

things which he possesseth." Elsewhere he teaches us that a man's real life consists in his relationship to the Father, in his knowledge of God, and in his enjoyment of the love of God. Therefore we find Christ saying, at the close of the sixteenth chapter of St. Matthew, "What shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and forfeit his life?" I am glad that instead of the word "soul" in the Revised Version the word "life" is used.

It is not a question of a man's soul at all, as distinguished from his body. It is a question of his true life, his real life, which St. Paul said is "hid with Christ in God." "What shall a man give in exchange for that life?" Suppose he gets all the money in the Bank of England and sacrifices that "life;" suppose he has all the titles of honor the queen can bestow and is spiritually "dead," what shall it profit him? Christ declares that all the prizes of this world are mere refuse in comparison with that life. Now, this was all new. It may

seem to you old, but it was all new. It had never been uttered before Christ came. He was the first public teacher in this world who said that man's true worth was to be determined, not by his property, not by his social position, but only and entirely by what he was in himself, by his mind and by his heart; and that there were certain absolute and indefeasible rights that belonged to every individual human being.

Jesus Christ says that every man *as a man* is immeasurably greater than wealth or rank could ever make him. He was the first teacher of the human race who insisted upon the sacredness and the unspeakable preciousness of every man, woman, and child in the world. I need scarcely tell you the practical results which followed. If every human being, because he is created in the image of God, is so unspeakably precious, how much we ought to reverence every human being, how careful not to infringe upon the rights of any

human being, how solicitous for the happiness of every human being! In the old Greek and Roman world man as man was nothing. They neither reverenced nor respected manhood. Many of the most gifted men of Greece deliberately murdered thousands of their fellow-creatures—not in ordinary war, but in cold blood—because as men they were without any recognized right or claim.

On the other hand, contrast with this the revolutionary doctrine of Jesus Christ, as found in the passage in which he said: "I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not." And when they expressed their astonishment—for they would never have treated Christ himself so—he answered, "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these least, ye did it not unto me." Let me transcribe that into modern English. A

poor little child, shivering and half naked, asks you for bread. You turn a deaf ear to him. On the day of judgment Christ will say, "When you refused bread to that little boy you refused bread to me." A harlot is dying in a back slum. You say, "What is that woman to me? She suffers for her own sin." When you spurn that harlot you spurn Christ. That harlot is as dear to Christ as the Queen of England herself; and any insult offered to her, any indifference to her happiness, touches him as deeply as if she were the Princess of Wales.

Christ asserts, as the Son of man, that every man is his brother; that every woman is his sister. A pauper is dying, and you say, "Nobody cares." Yes; there is one who cares. Jesus Christ cares. He cares as much for that poor pauper as you do for your dearest child. A despairing harlot throws herself over London Bridge, and is drowned. You say, "Nobody cares for her." Yes; Jesus Christ

cares for her, and he cares so much that every man who ever injured that woman, unless he repents in sackcloth and ashes, will go to the lowest depths of hell. This is a new thing indeed, because if there was one class in ancient history that was universally despised it was the class to which that woman belonged. Many of you admit immoral men into your drawing rooms, while you turn away with hard and cruel hearts from your fallen sisters. How far we are yet from that blissful social condition in which you will all glory, as Jesus Christ gloried, to be known as "the friend of harlots!"

We have laid our finger upon the gaping sore of human society. Let us once realize the sacredness of every human being, however poor, however ignorant, however degraded, and tyranny becomes impossible, lust becomes impossible, war becomes impossible. This is the new idea which Jesus Christ introduced into human society. This is the new idea which will

ultimately revolutionize human society. It has already given slavery its deathblow. It was not any discovery on the part of political economists that destroyed slavery. It was the discovery that every slave was a man and a brother. Then down went slavery. I look forward to the day when we shall all realize—what very few of us have realized yet, because human society is still to so great an extent heathen—that every individual human being, created in the image of God, is unspeakably dear to God, and must be loved and reverenced; that the State itself has only a limited authority; that there are higher laws than the laws of the State, even the laws of God; and that the glory of manhood is unspeakable and divine, for the ideal man is not Adam, but Jesus of Nazareth.

When we begin to regard every human being as the brother or sister of Jesus Christ, how it will alter our conduct! We meet some poor prodigal in rags and in want. He excites within us positive loath-

ing, but we know that the hideous creature is a son or a brother of a dear friend of ours, and for the sake of his father or his brother we show him every courtesy and every kindness. Allow a similar thought to help you when you are repelled by the degradation or the wickedness of the victims of sin. They are as dear to the heart of God as you are yourself, and neither you nor your country has any right to do anything that will injure them. This is a new idea, among many other new ideas, which Christ came to proclaim and to act upon—an idea so new, so revolutionary, that we do not believe it yet, although Christ has been trying for nineteen centuries to persuade us of its truth. But some day it will be believed, and on that day sin and misery will begin to totter toward their final fall.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD.

By Richard T. Ely, Ph.D., LL.D.

DR. THOMAS ARNOLD of Rugby spoke of the pretended conversion of the kingdoms of the world to the kingdom of Christ in the fourth and fifth centuries as one of the greatest tricks that Satan, that archjuggler, ever played, and then he adds: "I mean that by inducing kings and nations to conform nominally to Christianity, and thus to get into their hands the direction of Christian society, he has in a great measure succeeded in keeping out the peculiar principles of that society from any extended sphere of operations and in insuring the ascendency of his own." Canon Fremantle, in his wonderful book, *The World as the Subject of Redemption*—as suggestive a work as I ever read —speaks more cautiously, it is true, of the

nominal conversion of heathendom under Constantine, but nevertheless he holds that the outcome of the reconciliation between the leaders of Christianity and the rulers of this world was unfortunate in many respects. These are his words: "In the case before us, that of the relation of the first Christian emperor to the Church, we cannot but believe that, had his imperial duties been recognized more fully as a Church function, many mistakes and conflicts would have been avoided, and the effect of Christianity upon the empire would have been both sounder and more extensive. Had it been acknowledged that human justice in its highest and Christian sense is the thing chiefly aimed at by the Church, the effect would have been to sanctify the government of the empire. . . . When the moment came at which the Church leaders might have advanced to claim the general life of mankind for Christ they shrank back. Like the Jews of the first century, they knew

not their day of visitation. They cared for the formal guarantees of Christianity, for its correct statement, for the provision made for its worship, above all, for their own order; they willingly used the imperial power for these purposes, and it was for these that it was least fitted."* Taking these extracts from these two eminent men as my text, I wish to say a word to you about the relation of Christianity to this world in which we live.

I take this as my thesis: Christianity is primarily concerned with this world, and it is the mission of Christianity to bring to

* The almanac for 1889, issued by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, contains an interesting confirmation of this view. Tiridates, an Armenian king, adopted Christianity as the State religion about 300 A. D., and a little later Constantine made it the religion of the Roman empire. Nominal Christianity has continued to exist to this day in Asia Minor, but the writer in this almanac says of the nominal Christianity of these sovereigns, and of the conversion of their subjects, that the event "was a severer blow to Christianity than persecution had been, for it brought into it worldliness, formalism, and even something of heathenism."

pass here a kingdom of righteousness and to rescue from the evil one and redeem all our social relations.

I believe it a common impression that Christianity is concerned primarily with a future state of existence, and to this unfortunate error I trace an alliance between the Church and the powers of this world which found its exemplification in the alleged conversion of Constantine the Great. The mission of the Church is to redeem the world and to make peace with it only on its unconditional surrender to Christ. Now, a surrender is one thing, an alliance is another. If peace and harmony prevailed between the powers of the world and the Church because the world had become thoroughly Christian we would have reason for joy, and joy only. Men, angels, and archangels would then lift up their voices in songs of triumph, and the morning stars would join them all in a glorious chorus.

Unhappily, peace has never been made after this fashion. Whenever an agree-

ment has been reached between the Church and the world, the terms have been a division of territory, as it were, and that on this wise: The world has transferred the domain of dogma and the future life to the Church, but has kept for itself the present life. I believe, with Arnold, that Satan has in such an arrangement displayed his cunning in a rare degree.

We are placed here in this world to do here the work which offers itself to us as Christian men and women. The next world may have its work, but when we get to heaven it will be time enough for us to concern ourselves with that. Undoubtedly this world is but a training school, but what kind of work will a boy do in college who busies himself unduly with speculations about the future life for which he is preparing himself? We teachers know very well. We say to such a lad, "This will not do. You are wasting your time and dissipating your energies. Keep your mind on your present tasks, and by

excellence in performing them you will be best prepared for your subsequent career."

Divines have doubted whether any clear intimation of a future life is given in the writings of Moses, although there is every reason to suppose that he was familiar with the doctrine of immortality which was taught in Egypt. It has, however, been held that he purposely refrained from the expression of any views on the immortality of the soul, because he had seen the abuses and superstitions which inevitably clustered about it and the hold it gave a cruel and corrupt priestcraft on the masses. It was, it is thought, in a way, a dangerous doctrine, and God waited for a more favorable time to give us a clear revelation about immortality. Jesus Christ brought to the light and for Christians proved the doctrine of the immortality of man. Yet read all that he says. Take your New Testament and read one after another his words, without the assistance of any commentary, and see how little he

says about a future life. Nearly everything in the words of Christ applies to the present life. Take his longest discourse as recorded in the gospel according to St. Matthew in chapters v, vi, vii, and it hardly mentions the subject of a future life, barely alluding to it once or twice. Take the Lord's Prayer contained in this sermon, and it may be argued that it does not at all teach the immortality of the soul. Notice also how quickly Christ turns his disciples away from speculations about the future to present duties when they approach him with inquiries about the hereafter. And the rich young man seeking salvation is not taught to believe in a set of metaphysical propositions in regard to the hereafter, but is told first of all to sell his property and give it to the poor, then to follow Jesus and be ready for immediate service in the kingdom of Christ here on earth.

The disciples want to know who is greatest in the kingdom of heaven, and he sets

a child in the midst of them, teaches them the duty of humility, and declares to them that whosoever "shall receive one such little one in my name receiveth me." The mother of Zebedee's children wants high rank for them in the kingdom of Christ, and, rebuking her, he hastens to improve the opportunity by pointing out service to one's fellows as the main thing about which they should concern themselves. "Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your servant." *

Let no one misunderstand me. I do not undervalue the glorious revelation of eternal life which Christ brought us. That is our hope, our inspiration, our consolation, and our warning. Very precious to the Christian is the resurrection of Christ. We are permitted to look forward to a future to complete what is begun here. Yet when we have that we have all, or nearly all, that Christ thought fit to tell us of heaven.

*Matt. xx, 20–28; comp. "the chapter of woes," Matt. xxiii.

We go to the Bible with the notion that we are to learn about heaven rather than about earth, and so we make things apply to a future existence which were intended for this world. Even the translators of the Bible appear to have been led away from sound learning by the popular notion. In one place the old version reads, "And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved," but the new version gives us the correct translation, which is, "And the Lord added to them day by day those that were being saved" *—were being saved then and there. "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life." † Why, he who makes a profession of Christianity with the hope of escaping some dire calamity hereafter, and only for that hope, has not taken the first step in the Christian life. "Thou shalt call his name Jesus: for he shall save his people from their sins." ‡ He that is not striving to depart from sin has not begun the Christian life.

* Acts ii, 47. † John vi, 47. ‡ Matt. i, 21.

The results of the alliance of which I have spoken are the most disastrous, and we see them all about us. Things are divided into things sacred and things secular, but to a Christian all things must be sacred, his business as well as his Church, for is he not to use his business as an instrument for bringing righteousness to pass in this world—to bring to an end the present evil age which Christ condemned? For not the world but this age, the evil in the world, was anathematized. "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth"—we pray ever for the salvation of the world, the cosmos.

Then we have a division of days—one sacred, the others secular. St. Paul, it seems to me, taught that every day was holy. I do not mean that I would have less said about the observance of Sunday, but more about God's service on the other six days of the week. Because we have concerned ourselves too much with the hereafter we have neglected an examination of present duties.

The current ideas of right and wrong must fill one with sadness and dismay. Many a Christian cannot grasp the sinfulness of lotteries, does not perceive that it is trying to get something for nothing—the essence of theft. So some cannot perceive the iniquity of a man who builds houses on land which he knows the State, nation, or city will want—builds them, I mean, purposely to be sold at a profit and then torn down. Some cannot perceive that it is a sin to work a man sixteen hours a day if his necessities compel him to agree to such an arrangement.

We may find help if we look at this matter from a somewhat different standpoint. Human duties are duties for this world. Now, if we find that Christ chiefly emphasizes our obligations to men living on earth, it follows naturally that the Church is concerned with this world rather than the next.

The love of the apostles for their fellowmen is marvelous, breaking down preju-

dices of creed and race—prejudices stronger than we can well understand at this day. Nevertheless, love carried Peter and Paul and other primitive Christians over these barriers, although the victory cost many a struggle.

Love is the wonderful word of the New Testament. We must even love those that malign us. "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven." Here is your test again. Otherwise ye cannot be the children of your Father. Otherwise ye cannot be followers of Christ. "For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye?" If you love them only, then you are not saved, then you cannot be saved without a regeneration.

You come upon this wonderful, this marvelous love for man which Christ taught all through the Gospel. It is not merely taught by Christ, but it is illustrated by Christ in his life until we come to that

scene on the cross when he prayed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

It is in this duty to love and serve our fellows that I find the most convincing proof of the divinity of Christ. I think it is this which reassures me amid the doubts of our time; I have no evidence in history to convince me that a mere man would have exalted man as Christ did. Let us see your love for God in your manifest love for man. This is the message of Christ. This I regard as the grand distinctive feature of Christianity, the exaltation of humanity. I will not say the worship of humanity, but surely it is safe to say all but the worship of humanity. We find philosophers of the grandest type despising humanity as a whole. We find them selecting out a few as worthy of the highest good and condemning the rest to servitude. The hopeless inferiority, the irremediable baseness of the vast mass of men—this characterizes the philosophy of Plato and

Aristotle. Rarely do modern philosophers, unless inspired by Christianity, rise to an exalted conception of man.

The history of ethics confirms this view. What did Christianity add to ethics considered as a science? It added, says Professor Sidgwick in his *History of Ethics*, benevolence. That is not found in pre-Christian philosophy. Let me read you a few sentences from Professor Sidgwick's work: "It is . . . in the impulse given to practical beneficence in all its forms, by the exaltation of love as the root of all virtues, that the most important influence of Christianity on the particulars of civilized morality is to be found. . . . This development clearly appears when we compare the different post-Socratic systems of ethics. In Plato's exposition of the different virtues there is no mention whatever of benevolence, although his writings show a keen sense of the importance of friendship as an element of philosophic life, especially of the intense personal affection naturally

arising between master and disciple. Aristotle goes somewhat further in recognizing the moral value of friendship (*φιλία*); and although he considers that in its highest form it can only be realized by the fellowship of the wise and good, he yet extends the notion so as to include the domestic affections, and takes notice of the importance of mutual kindness in binding together all human societies. Still, in his formal statement of the different virtues, positive benevolence is only discernible under the notion of 'liberality,' in which form its excellence is hardly distinguishable from graceful profusion in self-regarding expenditure. Cicero, on the other hand, in his treatise on external duties (*officia*) ranks the rendering of positive services to other men as an important department of social duty; while in later Stoicism the recognition of the universal fellowship and natural claims of human beings as such is sometimes expressed with so much warmth of feeling as to be hardly

distinguishable from Christian philanthropy. Nor was this regard for humanity merely a doctrine of the school. Partly through the influence of Stoic and other Greek philosophy, partly from the general expansion of human sympathies, the legislation of the empire during the first three centuries shows a steady development in the direction of natural justice and humanity; and some similar progress may be traced in the tone of common moral opinion. Still, the utmost point that this development reached fell considerably short of the standard of Christianity. The Christian religion made benevolence a form of divine service, and identified 'piety' with 'pity.'"

You see the difference even in Professor Sidgwick's account, and this hardly dwells sufficiently on the difference—it scarcely brings it out in its full significance.

You at once perceive the effect of Christianity in the systems of ethics which took their origin after the diffusion of Christian-

ity throughout the civilized world. You find in the best of these the duty to love and serve one's fellows clearly indicated, and in the utilitarian school of ethics you discover a view nearly as strict as the Christian; but in reading an account of the various ethical systems I have the feeling that they leave me suspended in the air. They lack a firm, sure basis, and rest finally on assumption. They struggle for a foothold, but do not find one, and they can in their claims never go beyond Christian ethics. When you accept Christ you find in the command to love your neighbor as yourself a standing ground from which you can clearly develop an ethical system; and it is this which will reveal to us points of view to show us the relations which ought to subsist between the Church and the world.

It was this fundamental ethical view of Christ and his apostles which at once led them to the heart of the social questions of their time.

But it was not merely on ethical systems that Christian teaching firmly impressed itself. Christian benevolence molded legislation, as has been finely shown by the great jurist of Göttingen, Professor von Ihering. Christian benevolence existed, and it sought expression in every department of social life, and finally it became possible to create benevolent corporations, corporations designed to relieve suffering man and to elevate humanity. It was not until the fourth or fifth century after Christ that such an independent benevolent foundation as the Hopkins Hospital could exist, and the change of legislation which made it possible was due to a distinct Christian influence.*

When we inquire into the consequences of this notion that Christianity has chiefly to do with another world, and not with the establishment of righteous relations and the development of character in this world, we shall find an explanation of the aberra-

* See Ihering's *Zweck im Recht*, Bd. I, ss. 285–91.

tions of the Church.* Is it not this error which has made persecutions possible, nay, inevitable? If it is our place through Christ to redeem this world, to make men better and happier while on earth, it is evident that we shall not accomplish that purpose by torturing them, burning them at the stake, and burying them alive. If, however, the Church has to do with a series of propositions in regard to religion, and finds its mission in inducing men to accept these propositions in order to pluck them from a flaming hell of eternal torment, it is quite natural that good and pious men should be willing to inflict what are after all comparatively insignificant tortures to rescue men from unending death and damnation.

We find in this view likewise an explanation of the separation between right life and religion, which before the Reformation

* In my *Social Aspects of Christianity* I say that the errors of the Church may be traced to an exaltation of theology and neglect of sociology. The two statements are not inconsistent.

became such a scandal to the Church of God, and which is still so sad a spectacle. Some have gone so far as to make salvation consist in ceremonies, obedience to the dictates of priestcraft, in some sort of magic, or in a feeling of the emotional nature, and as stated, even in intellectual assent to a species of metaphysics. What have all these things to do with conduct?

We may consider the labor movement and the broader social questions in the light of what has been said.

The complaint made by American workingmen against the churches is that they fail to influence conduct, that they fail to impress their fundamental principles upon those who give direction to the practical affairs of life in the counting room, in legislative halls, and on the bench, although these mighty men profess Christianity. Laboring men do not feel that it is necessarily better to work for a Christian than one who denies the obligations of Christianity—the outcome of experience has

not taught them that such is the case: they do not believe that church membership on the part of their landlord insures just and considerate treatment for his tenants; they do not flock to the merchants who acknowledge Christ as their Master in the conviction that they will merely on that account receive of them honest goods for a fair price; they do not rejoice when they learn that a railroad magnate, in whose employ thousands of their number stand, is regularly attending an orthodox church; they do not anticipate in consequence a removal of the truck stores which rob them, nor the shortening of a working day, inhuman in its length, dangerous alike to patrons and employees; on the contrary, they greet the news that one of their oppressors has allied himself with the Church with mocking laughter. I do not know that I have ever yet seen in a real American workingman's paper any objections urged to the doctrines of Christianity, nor do I ever remember to have seen a word

against Christ, who is, indeed, often lauded in the same breath in which churches are condemned. I may have seen some arguments directed against the fundamental principles of Christianity in American labor papers printed in a foreign language, but even in them I think it will be invariably found that they mainly take issue with Christianity as seen in the lives of its professors in their everyday affairs; as seen both in what they do and in what they do not do. It may, however, be asked why workingmen should be peculiarly alive to the absence of righteous principles in the business world. The answer is easy. They feel more keenly than others every departure from righteousness. We who are in temporal concerns more fortunate have, as the saying is, more at stake in the existing industrial organization. The ties which bind us to things as they are are far stronger, because things as they are are more profitable to us. Many of us, directly or indirectly, derive profit

from even acknowledged abuses, which are a part of things as they are. To correct these abuses would often involve serious sacrifice for us who are more fortunate. I think this must also be confessed: The more prosperous we become the more deeply are we rooted in things as they are. Insensibly our interests ramify and take hold in a thousand and one ways of the existing social order. At the same time it is not only workingmen who are driven from the churches by what is considered an unfortunate relation of the Church and the world, but high-minded men of fortune and education, superior to the fortunes and education of the masses; men whose sensitive natures are outraged by the unrebuked wickedness of the world. Among the estranged we count, then, large numbers who stand at the foot of the social ladder, and some among the best who stand near the top.

How does a thinking workingman, how must a thinking workingman, feel about

the attitude of the Church in the past? An attitude which, if it is rapidly changing for the better, is still frequently seen. I think I can best tell you by quotations from Hodder's *Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury.* You all know who the Earl of Shaftesbury was—an earnest Christian man, who tried to serve God in all relations of life, and who perhaps did more for wage-earners in England than any man who has lived during the present century. Now, if the indifference, coldness, hostility of the Church, to which he was always loyal, grieved even a man of his exalted rank, how would a workingman without the advantages of such social eminence feel? For the full malignity of the enemies of the Earl of Shaftesbury could not reach him as it would have reached a humbler man. I give you quotations from his diary which are the spontaneous outpouring of his heart:

"The factory question, and every ques-

tion for what is called 'humanity,' receives as much support from 'the men of the world' as from men who say they will have nothing to do with it." *

"No stir as yet in behalf of my 'Children's Employment Commission.' I cannot discern how, humanly speaking, I have ever made any progress at all. To whom should I have naturally looked for the chief aid? Why, undoubtedly, to the clergy, and especially those of the trading districts. Quite the reverse; from them I have received no support, or next to none; one or two, in their individual capacity, have given me encouragement and wished me Godspeed, but as a body, or even numerously, though singly, they have done, are doing, and will do, nothing. And this throughout my whole career. There are grand and blessed exceptions;

* *Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, vol. i, p. 300. Diary, July 4, 1840. The measures to which reference is made in these quotations are all measures in behalf of the public welfare, chiefly, if not exclusively, measures in behalf of working children and women.

thank God for them! Bickersteth is a jewel, a jewel of the first water; one of those that God will 'make up,' so we read in Malachi, at the last day. The only public act in behalf of these wretched infants was a petition signed by fifty of the clergy in the neighborhood of Bristol, got up by the amiable exertions of the Rev. Sir Henry Montagu; and yet we have in our Church, besides prelates, sixteen thousand ordained ministers of Christ's Gospel." *

Referring to the workingmen who attended a meeting at Leeds, he says:

"'They love the monarchy and they love religion.' It is most correct, though they have been denied the blessings of the one and excluded from the benefits of the other. O God, the God of all righteousness, mercy, and love, give us all grace and strength to conceive and execute whatever may be for thine honor and their wel-

* *Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, vol. i, p. 325, Jan. 5, 1841.

fare, that we may become at the last, through the merits and intercession of our common Redeemer, a great and happy, because a wise and understanding, people."*

How does Christ save us? In what sense is Christianity to be regarded as a cure for all social troubles? I have always been much impressed by a sermon of Rev. Mark Guy Pearse, in which he said that man had been placed in the world to save it. This is true. God has given to his people this world for salvation. The world appeared to be drifting away from God, but Christ came and proclaimed the truth, revealing to us God, and then left his disciples to preach the Gospel to all creatures, promising them that they should do greater works than he had done. It is now for us to save the world with the help of the divine Spirit, which Christ sent to us as Comforter. But let it never be forgotten that salvation means infinitely more than

* *Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, vol. i, p. 346, Aug. 6, 1841.

the proclamation of glittering generalities and the utterance of sweet sentimentalities. Salvation means righteousness, positive righteousness, in all the earth, and its establishment means hard warfare. The "Church militant" is something more than a phrase, or the Church itself is a mockery. Preaching the Gospel means going to men with the words, "Thou, thou art the man." It means a never ceasing attack on every wrong institution, until the earth becomes a new earth, and all its cities cities of God.

It is as truly a religious work to pass good laws as it is to preach sermons; as holy a work to lead a crusade against filth, vice, and disease in slums of cities, and to seek the abolition of the disgraceful tenement houses of American cities, as it is to send missionaries to the heathen. Even to hoe potatoes and plant corn ought to be regarded, and must be regarded by true Christians, as religious acts; and all legislators, magistrates, and governors are as

truly ministers in God's Church as any bishop or archbishop.

I will now mention, without any attempt at scientific classification, some of the subjects which, it seems to me, ought to be taken up by the Church, all of them religious subjects:

1. Child labor, a growing evil, diminishing in other countries, increasing in this; removing children from home at a tender age, ruining them morally, dwarfing them physically and mentally.

To show the effect of good laws properly enforced, it may be mentioned that in Massachusetts, the banner State of the Union in labor legislation, although still behind England, it has been found possible to diminish child labor by seventy per cent.

2. The labor of women under conditions which imperil the family.

3. Sunday labor, an increasing evil, against which workingmen throughout the length and breadth of the land are crying out bitterly. Their papers abound in com-

plaint. A mass meeting has been held in Chicago to agitate against Sunday slavery. What an opportunity for the Church! And remember that the spirit of the fourth commandment means that a man should have one day in seven free, if he cannot by any possibility (street car drivers, for example) have Sunday. The spirit of the institution of Sunday has in too many instances departed, and it has been forgotten that Sunday has been made for man. Some people talk as if in Sunday observances they were conferring a favor on God. Sunday is to too many a merely arbitrary matter, just as if God had commanded us in entering a room always to enter with the left foot foremost. Thus we have actually had controversies as to whether we should observe Saturday or Sunday, as if it made the slightest difference. So frivolous have become many things with which at least some Christians concern themselves. "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." There are also those who imagine that, if

it is really necessary for them to work their employees on Sunday, they do not break the fourth commandment in compelling them to work also on all other days of the week. It is one of the best features of the program of the American Sabbath Union that they contemplate agitation for a six-day law which shall make it illegal to contract for more than six days' work in seven. Such a law ought to be accompanied with adequate provisions against subterfuges and with severe penalties for disobedience. It is thoroughly Christian in spirit. It will also test the sincerity of those who claim that Sunday work is a necessity.

4. Playground and other provision for healthful recreation in cities, an antidote to the saloon and other forms of sin.

5. Removal of children from parents who have ceased to perform the duties of parents. Homes, real homes, should be found for these.

6. Public corruption, about which let us have something precise and definite.

7. Saturday half holidays. It must be borne in mind that it is not enough merely to assist in securing leisure. It is necessary to show people how to use leisure. This, like other things, must be taught by precept and example.

8. A juster distribution of wealth.

9. A manly contest against the deadly optimism of the day which aims to retard improvement and to blind men to actual dangers. After careful thought and observation I believe the social consequences of optimism even more disastrous than those of pessimism, though both are bad enough. Less spread-eagleism in America, more repentance for national sins.

Time fails me. In parting, let me repeat my thought in two phrases: first, the world as the subject of redemption; second, Thy will be done as in heaven, so on earth.

THE NEGRO QUESTION.

THE NEGRO QUESTION.

By George W. Cable.

THE QUESTION.

I.

THE matter that is made the subject of these pages is not to-day the most prominent, but it is the gravest, in American affairs. It is one upon which, of late years, as we might say, much inattention has been carefully bestowed. It has become a dreaded question. We are not politically indolent. We are dealing courageously with many serious problems. We admit that no nation has yet so shaken wrong and oppression from its skirts that it may safely and honorably sit down in a state of mercantile and æsthetical preoccupation. And yet the matter that gives us daily the profoundest unrest goes daily by default. The nation's bitter experiences with it in

years past, the baffling complications that men more cunning than wise have woven around it, its proneness to swallow up all other questions and the eruptions of rancor and strife that attend every least sign of its spontaneous reopening, have made it such a weariness and offense to the great majority, and especially to our commercial impatience, that the public mind in large part eagerly accepts the dangerous comfort of postponement.

What is this question? Superficially, it is whether a certain seven millions of the people, one ninth of the whole, dwelling in and natives to the Southern States of the Union, and by law an undifferentiated part of the nation, have or have not the same full measure of the American citizen's rights that they would have were they entirely of European instead of wholly or partly African descent. The seven millions concerning whom the question is asked answer as with one voice that they have not. Millions in the Northern States

and thousands in the Southern, of whites, make the same reply; while other millions of whites, in North and South, respond not so often with a flat contradiction as with a declaration far more disconcerting. For the "Southerner" speaks truly when he retorts that nowhere in the entire Union, either North or South, are the disadvantages of being a black, or partially black, man confined entirely to the relations of domestic life and private society; but that in every part there is a portion at least of the community that does not claim for, or even willingly yield to, the Negro the whole calendar of American rights in the same far-reaching amplitude and sacredness that they do for, or to, the white man. The Southern white man points to thousands of Northern and Western factories, countingrooms, schools, hotels, churches, and guilds, and these attest the truth of his countercharge. Nowhere in the United States is there a whole community from which the black man, after

his physical, mental, and moral character have been duly weighed, if they be weighed at all, is not liable to suffer an unexplained discount for mere color and race which he would have to suffer publicly in no other country of the enlightened world. This being the fact, then, in varying degrees according to locality, what does it prove? Only that this cannot be the real point of issue between North and South, and that this superficial definition is not the true one.

Putting aside mere differences of degree, the question is not, Are these things so? but, Ought they so to be? To this a large majority in the Northern States from all classes, with a small minority of the Southern whites, also from all ranks of life, and the whole seven million blacks, irrespective of party leanings, answer "No." On the other hand, a large majority of the whites in the Southern States, large as to the white population of those States, but a very small minority in the nation at large, an-

swer a vehement "Yes; these things should and shall be so."

But how does this small minority maintain itself? It does so owing to the familiar fact that, although by our scheme of government there is a constant appeal to the majority of the whole people, the same scheme provides, also, for the defense of local interests against rash actions of national majorities by a parallel counter appeal (constantly through its Senate and at times in other ways) to the majority, not of the people *en masse*, but of the States in their corporate capacity. Now, a very large minority in the Northern States, whose own private declaration would be against a difference between white men's rights and other men's rights, nevertheless refuse now, as they refused before the civil war, to answer with a plain yes or no, but maintain, with the Southern white-rule party, that whether these things ought so to be or not is a question that every State must be allowed to answer for and to itself alone; thus so

altering the voice of the nation, when it speaks by States, as virtually to nullify that negative answer which would be given by a majority of the whole people. In the Civil Rights bill the verdict of the States was once given against all race discrimination in all matters of public rights whatsoever, and for confining it within that true domain—of private choice—to which the judgment of other Christian nations consigns it. But the Civil Rights bill, never practically effective in the communities whose upper ranks were hostile to it, has at last perished in the inner citadel of our government's strong conservatism, the national Supreme Court, and the Senate majority that passed the bill was long ago lost by revolutions in the Southern States. Thus, by a fundamental provision in the national government, intended for the very purpose of protecting the weak from the strong, a small national minority has for twenty-five years been enabled to withstand the pressure of an immense majority.

Whether this is by a right or wrong use of the provision is part of the open question. The weak are protected from the strong, but the still weaker are delivered into the hands of the strong. Seven millions of the nation, mostly poor, ignorant, and degraded, are left for the definition and enjoyment of rights, worth more than safety or property, to the judgment of some ten other millions of unquestioned intelligence and virtue, but whose intelligence and virtue were not materially less when, with a courage and prowess never surpassed, they drenched their own land with their own blood to keep these darker millions in slavery. However, be it a use or an abuse of the nation's scheme of order, be it right or wrong, this is politically the stronghold of the conservative party in the Southern States; and it is made stronger still, steel-clad and turreted, as it were, with the tremendous advantage of the *status quo*—that established order of things which, good or bad, until it becomes in-

tolerable to themselves, men will never attack with an energy equal to that with which it is defended.

But political strength is little by itself. The military maxim, that no defenses are strong without force enough in them to occupy their line, is true of civil affairs. Intrenchment in the letter of a constitution avails little with the people at large on either side of a question, unless the line of that intrenchment is occupied by a living conviction of being in the right. The most ultra-Southern position on the Negro question has an element of strength close akin to this. To be right is the only real necessity; but where is the community that will not make and defend with treasure and blood the assumption that what is necessary is right? "Southerners," in the political sense of the term, may sometimes lack a clear, firm-founded belief that they are right; they may have no more than a restless confidence that others are as wrong as they; but they have at least a profound

conviction that they are moved by an imminent, unremitting, imperative necessity. Not that this is all; hundreds of thousands of them, incapacitated by this very conviction from falling into sympathy with the best modern thought, have been taught, and are learning and teaching, not only on the hustings, but in school, in college, at the fireside, through the daily press, in the social circle, and in church, that in their attitude on the Negro question they are legally, morally, and entirely right.

II.

Now, specifically, what are these things that a majority of a free nation says ought not to be, while a sectional majority triumphantly maintains they must, will, ought to, and shall, be? Give an example of an actual grievance. One commonly esteemed the very least on the list is this: Suppose a man, his wife, and their child, decent in person, dress, and deportment, but visibly of African or mixed blood, to

take passage on a railway train from some city of the Eastern States, as Boston, or of the Western, as Chicago. They will be thrown publicly into company with many others, for an ordinary American railway passenger coach seats fifty persons and a sleeping car accommodates twenty-five; and they will receive the same treatment from railway employees and passengers as if, being otherwise just what they are, they were of pure European descent. Only they will be much less likely than white persons to seek or be offered new acquaintanceships. Arriving in New York, Philadelphia, or any other Northern city they will easily find accommodations in some hotel of such grade as they would be likely to choose if, exactly as they are, they were white. They may chance upon a house that will refuse on account of their color to receive them; but such action, if made known, will be likely to receive a wide public reprobation and scant applause even from the press of the Southern States. If

the travelers choose to continue their journey through the night they will be free to hire and occupy berths in a sleeping car and to use all its accessories—basins, towels, pillows, etc.—without the least chance of molestation in act or speech from any one of the passengers or employees, let such passengers or employees be from any State of the Union, Northern or Southern.

But on reaching the Southern States the three travelers will find themselves at every turn under special and offensive restrictions laid upon them, not for any demerit of person, dress, or manners, but solely and avowedly on account of the African tincture in their blood, however slight that may be. They may still be enjoying the comforts of the sleeping car by virtue of the ticket bought in a Northern State and not yet fully redeemed. But they will find that while in one Southern State they may still ride in an ordinary first-class railway coach without hindrance, in another they will find themselves turned away from the

door of one coach and required to limit themselves to another, equal, it may be, to the first in appointments, and inferior only in the social rank of its occupants. They may protest that in America there are no public distinctions of social rank; but this will avail them nothing. They may object that the passengers in the car from which they are excluded are not of one, but palpably of many and widely different social ranks, and that in the car to which they are assigned are people not of their grade only, but of all sorts; they will be told with great plainness that there is but one kind of Negro. They will be told that they are assigned equal but separate accommodation because the presence of a person of wholly or partly African blood in the same railway car on terms of social equality with the white passengers is to those white passengers an intolerable offense; and if the husband and father replies that it is itself the height of vulgarity to raise the question of private social rank

among strangers in railway cars, he will be fortunate if he is only thrust without more ado into the "colored car," and not kicked and beaten by two or three white men whose superior gentility has been insulted, and he and his wife and child put off at the next station to appeal in vain to the courts. For in court he will find that railway companies are even required by the laws of the State to maintain this ignominious separation of all who betray an African tincture, refined or unrefined, clean or unclean, from the presence of the white passengers in the first-class cars, be those passengers ever so promiscuous a throng.

Such is an example of one of the least grievances of the colored man under the present *règime* in the Southern States; and so dull is the common perception of wrongs committed at a distance that hundreds of thousands of intelligent, generous, sensitive people in the Northern States are daily confessing their inability to see any serious hardship in such a case,

if only the "colored car" be really equal in its appointments to the one in which only white people of every sort are admitted; as if a permanent ignominious distinction on account of ancestry, made in public by strangers, in the enjoyment of common public rights were not an insult or an injury unless joined to some bodily discomfort.

Let it be plainly understood that though at least scores of thousands are intelligent and genteel, yet the vast majority of colored people in the United States are neither refined in mind nor very decent in person. Their race has never had "a white man's chance." In America it has been under the iron yoke of a slavery that allowed no distinction of worth to cross race lines; and in Africa it has had to contend for the mastery of wild nature on a continent so unconquerable that for thousands of years the white race has striven in vain to subdue it, and is only now at last strong enough to pierce it,

enriched, enlightened, and equipped by the long conquest of two others less impregnable. For all that is known the black is "an inferior race," though how, or how permanently inferior, remains unproved. But the core of the colored man's grievance is that the individual, in matters of right that do not justly go by race, is treated, whether man or child, without regard to person, dress, behavior, character, or aspirations, in public and by law, as though the African tincture, much or little, were itself stupidity, squalor, and vice. But let us see whether the grievance grows.

On passing into a third Southern State the three travelers, though still holders of first-class tickets, will be required to confine themselves to the so-called second-class car, a place never much better than a dramshop. When the train stops for meals, and the passengers, men, women, and children, the rough, the polished, all throng into one common eating room to receive a common

fare and attention, those three must eat in the kitchen or go hungry. Nor can they even await the coming of a train, in some railway stations, except in a separate "colored room." If they tarry in some Southern city they will encounter the most harassing and whimsical treatment of their most ordinary public rights as American citizens. They may ride in any street car, however crowded, seated beside, or even crammed in among, white men or women of any or every station of life; but at the platform of the railway train, or at the threshold of any theater, or concert, or lecture hall, they will be directed to the most undesirable part of the house, and compelled to take that or nothing. They will find that the word "public" rarely means public to them; that they may not even draw books from the public libraries or use their reading rooms.

Should the harried and exasperated man be so fierce or indiscreet as to quarrel with and strike some white man, he will

stand several chances to a white man's one of being killed on the spot. If neither killed nor half killed, but brought into court, he will have ninety-nine chances in a hundred of confronting a jury from which, either by, or else in spite of, legal provision, men of African tincture have been wholly or almost wholly excluded. If sent to prison, he must come under a penal system which the report of the national commissioner of prisons officially pronounces "a blot upon civilization." He will find the population of State prisons often nine tenths colored, divided into chain gangs, farmed out to private hands, even subleased, and worked in the mines, quarries, in railway construction, and on turnpikes, under cordons of Winchester rifles; veritable quarry slaves. He will find most of the few white convicts under this system suffering the same outrages; but he will also find that the system itself disappears wherever this general attitude toward the black race disappears, and that where it and its out-

rages continue the race line in prison is obliterated only when the criminal becomes a negotiable commodity and it costs the lessee money to maintain the absurd distinction. He would find the number of colored men within those deadly cordons out of all proportion to the colored population outside, as compared with the percentages of blacks in and out of prison in States not under this *régime*. There are State prisons in which he would find the colored convicts serving sentences whose average is nearly twice that of the white convicts in the same places for the same crimes. In the same or other prisons he would find colored youths and boys by scores, almost by hundreds, consorting with older criminals, and under sentences of seven, ten, twenty years, while the State legislatures vote down year after year the efforts of a few courageous and humane men either to establish reformatories for colored youth, or to introduce the element of reform into their so-called penitentiaries.

But suppose he commits no offense against person or property; he will make another list of discoveries. He will find that no select school, under "Southern" auspices, will receive his child; that if he sends the child to a public school it must be, as required by law, to a school exclusively for colored children, even if his child is seven times more white than colored. Though his child be gentle, well-behaved, cleanly and decorously dressed, and the colored school so situated as to be naturally and properly the choice of the vêriest riff-raff of the school population, he will have no more liberty than before; he will be told again, "We know but one kind of Negro." The child's father and mother may themselves be professional instructors; but however highly trained, of whatever reputation for moral and religious character, however talented as teachers or disciplinarians, holding the diploma of whatever college or university—Wellesley, Vassar, Yale, Cornell—and of whatever age or

experience, they will find themselves shut out by law from becoming teachers in any public school for white children, whether belonging to and filled from the "best neighborhood" or in and for the lowest quarter of alleys and shanties. They will presently learn that in many hundreds of Southern school districts, where the populations are too sparse and poor to admit of separate schools for the two races, the children of both are being brought up in ignorance of the very alphabet rather than let them enjoy a common public right under a common roof. They will find that this separation is not really based on any incapacity of children to distinguish between public and private social relations, but that the same separation is enforced among adults, and that while every Southern State is lamenting its inability to make anything like an adequate outlay for public education, and hundreds of thousands of colored children are growing up in absolute illiteracy, largely for lack of teachers and school-

houses, an expensive isolation of race from race is kept up even in the normal schools and teachers' institutes. Even in the house of worship and the divinity school they would find themselves pursued by the same invidious distinctions and separations that had followed them at every step, and would follow and attend them still to and in the very almshouse and insane asylum.

III.

And then they would make one more discovery. They would find that not only were they victims of bolder infractions of the most obvious common rights of humanity than are offered to any people elsewhere in Christendom, save only the Chinaman in the far West, but that to make the oppression more exasperating still there is not a single feature of it in any one State, though justifiable on the plea of stern necessity, that does not stand condemned by its absence, under the same or yet more pronounced conditions, in some other State.

Sometimes even one part of a State will utterly stultify the attitude held in another part. In Virginia or South Carolina a colored person of decent appearance or behavior may sit in any first-class railway car, but in Georgia the law forbids it, and in Kentucky the law leaves him to the caprice of railway managements, some of which accord and others withhold the right. In some States he is allowed in the jury box, in some he is kept out by the letter of statutes, and in some by evasion of them; while in Tennessee some counties admit him to jury duty and others exclude him from it. In one or two Southern cities the teachers in colored public schools must be white; in others they must be colored, and in still others they may be either. In Louisiana certain railway trains and steamboats run side by side, within a mile of one another, where in the trains a Negro or mulatto may sit where he will, and on the boats he must confine himself to a separate quarter, called the "freedman's bureau."

The Civil Rights bill was fought for years and finally destroyed with the plea that it infringed the right of common carriers and entertainers to use their own best judgment in distributing their passengers and guests with an equitable consideration for the comfort of all. In fact, it only forbade distributions that, so far from consulting the common comfort, humor the demand of one crudely self-assorted private social class for an invariable, ignominious isolation or exclusion of another. Yet the same States and persons who so effectually made this plea either allow and encourage its use as a cover for this tyrannous iniquity or else themselves ignore their own plea, usurp the judgment of common carriers and entertainers, and force them by law to make this race distribution, whether they deem it best or not.

And yet again, all over the South there are scattered colleges, academies, and tributary grammar schools, established and maintained at the expense of individuals

and societies in the Northern States, for the education, at low rates of tuition and living, of the aspiring poor, without hindrance as to race or sex. For more than twenty years these establishments have flourished and been a boon to the African-American as well as to the almost equally noted "poor whites" of the Southern mountain regions, sandhills, and "pauper counties;" and through both these classes to the ultra-Southern white man of the towns and plantations; a boon the national value of which neither he nor one in a thousand of its hundreds of thousands of Northern supporters has an adequate conception; else these establishments would receive seven times their present pecuniary support. These institutions have graduated some hundreds of colored students as physicians and lawyers. At one time lately they had more than eight hundred divinity students, nearly all of them colored. Their pupils of all grades aggregate over seventeen thousand, and the sixteen

thousand colored teachers in the public schools of the South have come almost entirely from them. But now in these institutions there is a complete ignoring of those race distinctions in the enjoyment of common public rights so religiously enforced on every side beyond their borders; and yet none of those unnamable disasters have come to or from them which the advocates of these onerous public distinctions and separations predict and dread. On scores of Southern hilltops these schools stand out almost totally without companions or competitors in their peculiar field, so many refutations, visible and complete, of the idea that any interest requires the colored American citizen to be limited in any of the civil rights that would be his without question if the same man were white. Virtually, the whole guild of educators in the Southern States, from once regarding these institutions with unqualified condemnation and enmity, are now becoming their friends, and in some notable cases their

converts. So widely have the larger colleges demonstrated their unique beneficence that in some cases Southern State governments, actively hostile to the privileges of civil liberty they teach and apply, are making small annual appropriations in contribution toward their support.

So bristling with inconsistencies, good and bad, would our three travelers find this tyrannous and utterly unrepublican *régime*. Nowhere else in enlightened lands and in this day do so many millions see their own fellow-citizens so play football with their simplest public rights; for the larger part of the Southern white people do with these laws of their own making what they please, keeping or breaking them as convenient.

But their discoveries would still go on. They would hear these oppressions justified by Southern white people of the highest standing, and—more's the shame—by Northern tourists in the South, on the ground that the people upon whom they

are laid are a dull, vicious, unclean race, contact with which would be physically, intellectually, and morally offensive and mischievous to a higher race. And when they might ask why the lines of limited rights are not drawn around the conspicuously dull, vicious, and unclean of both races for the protection of the opposite sort in both, they would come face to face upon the amazing assumption that the lowest white man is somehow a little too good for even so much contact with the highest black as may be necessary for a common enjoyment of public rights; and, therefore, that no excellence, moral, mental, or physical, inborn or attained, can buy for a "man of color" from these separationists any distinction between the restrictions of his civil liberty and those of the stupidest and squalidest of his race, or bring him one step nearer to the enjoyment of the rights of a white man; or, if at all, then only as a matter of the white man's voluntary condescension and with

the right disguised as a personal privilege. They would find that the race line is not a line of physical, moral, or intellectual excellence at all. Stranger yet, they would learn that no proportion of white men's blood in their own veins, unless it washes out the very memory of their African tincture, can get them abatement of those deprivations decreed for a dull, vicious, and unclean race, but that—men, women, and children alike—hundreds and thousands of a mixed race are thus daily and publicly punished by their brothers for the sins of their fathers. They would find the race line not a race line at all.

They would find that the mere contact of race with race is not the matter objected to, but only any and every sort of contact on an equal footing. They would find that what no money, no fame, no personal excellence, and no fractional preponderance of European blood can buy can nevertheless be bought instantly, and without one of these things, by the simple surrender of

the attitude of public equality. They would find that the entire essence of the offense, any and everywhere where the race line is insisted on, is the apparition of the colored man or woman as his or her own master; that masterhood is all that all this tyranny is intended to preserve, and that the moment the relation of master and servant is visibly established between race and race there is the hush of peace.

"What is that Negro—what is that mulattress—doing in here?" asks one private individual of another in some public place; and the other replies:

"That's nothing; he is the servant of that white man just behind him; she is the nurse of those children in front of her."

"O, all right." And the "cordial relation" is restored. Such conversation, or equivalent soliloquy, occurs in the South a hundred times a day.

The surrender of this one point by the colored man or woman buys more than peace—it buys amity; an amity clouded

only by a slight but distinct and constant air and tone of command on the one part, a very gross and imperfect attitude of deference on the other, and the perpetual unrest that always accompanies forcible possession of anything. But since no people ever compelled another to pay too much for peace without somehow paying too much for it themselves, the master-caste tolerates, with unsurpassed supineness and unconsciousness, a more indolent, inefficient, slovenly, unclean, untrustworthy, ill-mannered, noisy, disrespectful, disputatious, and yet servile, domestic and public menial service than is tolerated by any other enlightened people. Such is but one of the smallest of many payments which an intelligent and refined community has to make for maintaining the lines of master and servanthood on caste instead of on individual ambition and capacity, and for the forcible equalization of millions of unequal individuals under one common public disdain. Other and greater payments and

losses there are—moral, political, industrial, commercial—as we shall see when we turn, as now we must, to the other half of this task, and answer the two impatient questions that jostle each other for precedence as they spring from this still incomplete statement of the condition of affairs.

The two questions are these: If the case is so plain, then, in the first place, how can the millions of intelligent and virtuous white people of the South make such a political, not to say such a moral, mistake? And, in the second place, how can the overwhelming millions of the North, after spending the frightful costs they spent in the war of '61–65, tolerate this emasculation of the American freedom which that war is supposed to have secured to all alike?

THE ANSWER.

I.

As to the Southern people, the answer is that, although the Southern master-class now cordially and unanimously admit the

folly of slaveholding, yet the fundamental article of political faith on which slavery rested has not been displaced. As to the people of the North, the answer is simpler still: the Union is saved.

The Northern cause in our civil war was not primarily the abolition of slavery, although many a Northern soldier and captain fought mainly for this, and cared for no other issue while this remained. The Southern cause was not merely for disunion, though many a Southern soldier and captain would never have taken up the sword to defend slaveholding stripped of the disguise of State sovereignty. The Northern cause was preeminently the national unity. Emancipation—the emancipation of the Negroes—was not what the North fought for, but only what it fought with. The right to secede was not what the South fought for, but only what it fought with. The great majority of the Southern white people loved the Union, and consented to its destruction only when

there seemed to be no other way to save slavery; the great bulk of the North consented to destroy slavery only when there seemed no other way to save the Union. To put in peril the Union on one side and slavery on the other was enough, when nothing else was enough, to drench one of the greatest and happiest lands on earth with the blood of hundreds of thousands of her own children. Now, what thing of supreme value rested on this Union, and what on this slavery, that they should have been defended at such cost? There rested on, or, more truly, there underlay, each a fundamental principle, conceived to be absolutely essential to the safety, order, peace, fortune, and honor of society; and these two principles were antagonistic.

The common subject of the two is the great lower mass of soeiety. The leading thought of the one is that mass's elevation, of the other its subjugation. The one declares the only permanent safety of

public society, and its highest development, to require the constant elevation of the lower, and thus of the whole mass, by the free self-government of all under one common code of equal civil rights. It came from England, but it was practically, successfully, beneficently applied on a national scale first in the United States, and Americans claim the right to call it, and it preeminently, the American idea, promulgated and established, not by Northerners or Southerners, one greatly more than another, but by the unsectional majority of a whole new nation born of the idea. The other principle declares public safety and highest development to require the subjugation of the lower mass under the arbitrary protective supremacy of an untitled but hereditary privileged class, a civil caste.

II.

Thus stands the matter to-day. Old foes are clasping hands on fields where once they met in battle, and, touching

glasses across the banqueting board, pledging long life to the Union and prosperity to the South, but at every feast there is one empty seat.

Why should one seat be ever empty and every guest afraid to look that way? Because the Southern white man swears upon his father's sword that none but a ghost shall ever sit there. And a ghost is there; the ghost of that old heresy of public safety by the mass's subjugation. This is what the Northern people cannot understand. This is what makes the Southern white man an enigma to all the world beside, if not also to himself. To-day the pride with which he boasts himself a citizen of the United States and the sincerity with which he declares for free government as the only safe government cannot be doubted; to-morrow comes an explosion, followed by such a misinterpretation of what free government requires and forbids that it is hard to identify him with the nineteenth century. Emancipation

destroyed domestic bondage; enfranchisement, as nearly as its mere decree can, has abolished public servitude; how, then, does this old un-American, undemocratic idea of subjugation, which our British mother country and Europe as well are so fast repudiating—how does it remain? Was it not founded in these two forms of slavery? The mistake lies just there: They were founded in it, and removing them has not removed it.

It has always been hard for the North to understand the alacrity with which the ex-slaveholder learned to condemn as a moral and economic error that slavery in defense of which he endured four years of desolating war. But it was genuine, and here is the explanation: He believed personal enslavement essential to subjugation. Emancipation at one stroke proved it was not. But it proved no more. Unfortunately for the whole nation there was already before emancipation came a defined status, a peculiar niche, waiting

for freed Negroes. They were nothing new. Nor was it new to lose personal ownership in one's slave. When, under emancipation, no one else could own him, we quickly saw he was not lost at all. There he stood, beggar to us for room for the sole of his foot, the land and all its appliances ours, and he, by the stress of his daily needs, captive to the land. The moment he fell to work of his own free will we saw that emancipation was even more ours than his; public order stood fast, our homes were safe, our firesides uninvaded; he still served, we still ruled; all need of holding him in private bondage was disproved, and when the notion of necessity vanished the notion of right vanished with it. Emancipation had destroyed private, but it had not disturbed public, subjugation. The ex-slave was not a free man; he was only a free Negro.

Northern men often ask perplexedly if the freedman's enfranchisement was not, as to the South, premature and inexpedi-

ent; while Southern men as often call it the one vindictive act of the conqueror, as foolish as it was cruel. Not by intention, and, it may be, unavoidably, but certainly it was not cruel for its haste, but for its tardiness. Had enfranchisement come into effect as emancipation did, while the smoke of the war's last shot was still in the air, when force still ruled unquestioned, and civil order and system had not yet superseded martial law, the agonies, the shame, and the incalculable losses of the reconstruction period that followed might have been spared the South and the nation. Instead, there came two unlucky postponements, the slow doling out of reenfranchisement to the best intelligence of Southern white society, and the delay of the freedman's enfranchisement, his civil emancipation, until the "Old South," instead of reorganizing public society in harmony with the national idea, largely returned to its intrenchments in the notion of exclusive white rule. Then, too late to avert a new

strife, and as little more than a defensive offset, the freedman was invested with citizenship, and the experiment begun of trying to establish a form of public order wherein, under a political equality accorded by all citizens to all citizens, new and old, intelligence and virtue would be so free to combine, and ignorance and vice feel so free to divide, as to insure the majority's free choice of rulers of at least enough intelligence and virtue to secure safety, order, and progress. This experience the North believed would succeed, and since this was the organic embodiment of the American idea for which it had just shed seas of blood, it stands to reason the North would not have allowed it to fail. But the "Old South," still bleeding from her thousand wounds, but as brave as when she fired her first gun, believed not only that the experiment would fail, but also that it was dangerous and dishonorable. And to-day, both in North and South, a widespread impression prevails that this

is the experiment which was made and did in fact fail. Whereas, it is just what the "Old South" never allowed to be tried.

This is the whole secret of the Negro question's vital force to-day. And yet the struggle in the Southern States has never been by the blacks for and by the whites against a black supremacy, but only for and against an arbitrary pure white supremacy. From the very first until this day, in all the freedman's intellectual crudity, he has held fast to the one true, national doctrine of the absence of privilege and the rule of all by all, through the common and steadfast consent of all to the free and frequent choice of the majority. He has never rejected white men's political fellowship or leadership because it was white, but only and always when it was unsound in this doctrine. His party has never been a purely black party in fact or principle. The "solid black vote" is only by outside pressure solidified about a principle of American liberty, which is

itself against solidity, and destroys the political solidity of classes wherever it has free play. But the "solid white vote"—which is not solid by including all whites, but because no colored man can truly enter its ranks, much less its councils, without accepting an emasculated emancipation—the solid white vote is solid, not by outside pressure but by inherent principle. Solid twice over first, in each State, from sincere motives of self-preservation, solid in keeping the old servile class, by arbitrary classification, servile; and then solid again by a tacit league of Southern States around the assumed right of each State separately to postpone a true and complete emancipation as long as the fear remains that, with full American liberty—this and no more—to all alike, the freedman would himself usurp the arbitrary domination now held over him and plunder and destroy society.

So, then, the Southern question at its root is simply whether there is any real

ground sufficient to justify this fear and the attitude taken against it. Only remove this fear, which rests on a majority of the whole white South despite all its splendid, well-proved courage, and the question of right, in law and in morals, will vanish along with the notion of necessity.

Whoever attempts to remove this apprehension must meet it in two forms: first, fear of a hopeless wreck of public government by a complete supremacy of the lower mass; and, second, fear of a yet more dreadful wreck of private society in a deluge of social equality.

III.

Now, as to public government, the freedman, whatever may be said of his mistakes, has never shown an intentional preference for anarchy. Had he such a bent he would have betrayed something of it when our civil war offered as wide an opportunity for its indulgence as any millions in bondage ever had. He has shown at least

as prompt a choice for peace and order as any "lower million" ever showed. The vices said to be his in inordinate degree are only such as always go with degradation, and especially with a degraded status; and when, in reconstruction years, he held power to make and unmake laws, amid all his degradation, all the efforts to confine him still to an arbitrary servile status, and all his vicious special legislation, he never removed the penalties from anything that the world at large calls a crime. Neither did he ever show any serious disposition to establish race rule. The whole spirit of his emancipation and enfranchisement, and his whole struggle, was, and is, to put race rule of all sorts under foot and set up the common rule of all.

The history of reconstruction dispassionately viewed is a final, triumphant proof that all our American scheme needs to make it safe and good, in the South as elsewhere, is consent to it and participa-

tion in it by the law-abiding, intelligent portions of the people, with one common freedom, in and between high life and low; to combine, in civil matters, against ignorance and vice in high life and low, across, yet without disturbing, the lines of race or any other line of private rank or predilection.

IV.

The abolition of the present state of siege rests with the Southern white man. He can abolish it, if he will, with safety and at once. The results will not be the return of reconstruction days; nor the incoming of any sort of black rule; nor the supremacy of the lower mass, either white, black, or mixed; nor the confusion of ranks and races in private society; nor the thronging of black children into white public schools, which never happened even in the worst reconstruction days; nor any attendance at all of colored children in white schools or of white in colored, save where exclusion would work needless hard-

ship; nor any new necessity to teach children—what they already know so well—that the public school relation is not a private social relation; nor any greater or less necessity for parents to oversee their children's choice of companions in school or out; nor a tenth as much or as mischievous playmating of white and colored children as there was in the days of slavery; nor any new obstruction of civil or criminal justice; nor any need of submitting to any sort of offensive contact from a colored person, that it would be right to resent if he were white. But seven dark American-born millions would find themselves freed from their constant liability to public legalized indignity; they would find themselves, for the first time in their history, holding a patent, with the seal of public approval, for all the aspirations of citizenship and all the public rewards of virtue and intelligence. Not merely would their million voters find themselves admitted to, and faithfully counted at, the

polls—whether they are already or not is not here discussed—but they would find themselves, as never before, at liberty to choose between political parties. These are some of the good—and there need be no ill—changes that will come whenever a majority of the Southern whites are willing to vote for them.

There is a vague hope, much commoner in the North than in the South, that somehow, if everybody will sit still, "time" will bring these changes. A large mercantile element, especially, would have the South "let politics alone." It is too busy to understand that whatever people lets politics alone is doomed. There are things that mere time can do, but only vigorous agitation can be trusted to change the fundamental convictions on which a people has built society. Time may do it at last, but it is likely to make bloody work of it. For either foundation idea on which society may build must, if let alone, multiply upon itself. The elevation idea brings safety,

and safety constantly commends and intensifies itself and the elevation idea. The subjugation idea brings danger, and the sense of danger constantly intensifies the subjugation idea. Time may be counted on for such lighter things as the removal of animosities and suspicions, and this in our nation's case it has done. Neither North nor South now holds, or suspects the other of holding, any grudge for the late war. But trusting time to do more than this is but trusting to luck, and trusting to luck is a crime.

The North has twenty millions foreign immigrants to Americanize. The South, for all her drawbacks, has this comparative advantage, that her lower mass, however ignorant and debased, is as yet wholly American in its notions of order and government. All that is wanting is to more completely Americanize her upper class—a class that is already ruling and will still rule when the change is made; that wants to rule wisely and prosperously, and that

has no conscious intention of being un-American. Only this: To bring the men of best blood and best brain in the South to-day, not to a new and strange doctrine, but back to the faith of their fathers. Let but this be done, and there may be far less cry of "Peace, peace," than now, but there will be a peace and a union between the nation's two great historic sections such as they have not seen since Virginia's Washington laid down his sword and her Jefferson his pen.

THE WORLD'S DRINK PROBLEM.

THE WORLD'S DRINK PROBLEM.

By Axel Gustafson.

AMONG CHRISTIAN NATIONS.

AS, until to-day, there has, properly speaking, been no real effort to combat the drink evil except among the Scandinavian and English-speaking nations, the attention we shall now give to the drink and temperance movements of the other Christian nations will chiefly consist in a rough sketch of their respective conditions owing to drink, and an *exposé* of erroneous notions current among us that weak alcoholics—wines and beers—are temperance drinks, antidotes to drunkenness, and that climate, education, and economic conditions are decisive factors in this matter, as demonstrated by their results among the chief wine and beer drinking nations of the world.

First, we may divide these non-temperance Christian nations, according to their chief beverages, into wine drinkers, beer drinkers, and spirit drinkers; in other words, as regards drink, we may divide the European continent into three zones—the wine zone, including France, Italy, Spain, southern Austria-Hungary, and southern Switzerland; the beer zone—Belgium, Germany, north Austria, Holland, and northern Switzerland; and the spirit zone—Russia, Finland, and, of course, the Scandinavian countries (which, however, because of their strong temperance sentiment, will be considered separately).

The Wine Zone.—France, the greatest wine-producing and wine-drinking country, and until about thirty years ago considered the soberest European country, is to-day placed at the head of drunken nations by Mulhall, the statistician, though, as a fact, Belgium stands at the head. At the International Anti-Alcohol Congress at Paris, 1889, it was shown that the alcohol con-

sumption in France had been trebled during the last thirty years, and had actually doubled between 1875 and 1885. And the London *Lancet* (September, 1889) said that the increase in criminality, insanity, and immorality had kept pace with the increased consumption of drink. Latest official reports show that the drink evil in France is steadily on the increase. Some of her greatest physicians, scientists, and statesmen more than ten years ago formed the most imposing moderation society ever organized, with the late Dr. Lunier at its head. But had moderation been a bar to drunkenness the great Société Française de Tempérance, whose valuable publications are spread among the rich and highly educated French public, would assuredly ere this have been able to check the terrible growth of drunkenness, crime, and immorality under which France groans; and if wines are temperance drinks, how explain the fact that France—the chief wine-drinking country in the world, with wines, too,

the lightest in the world—is in such a terrible condition of drunkenness to-day?

Italy stands next to France as a wine producer and consumer. She also, till lately, was quoted as a model of sobriety, the chief reasons alleged being her wine drinking and her charming climate. Now, however, that she is on the road to rivaling France in drunkenness, what about these reasons for sobriety? But perhaps it will be said that if the license laws were strict there would be a better state in France and Italy. As to this, the license laws of France may be lax, but those of Italy are strict. In Italy the license is annual and personal, and if transferred the licensee becomes liable for illicit sale of liquor, and is held responsible for all law violation. Any saloon disturbance authorizes law interference, with summary closing of the place for a longer or shorter period, according to the gravity of the offense. On my way to Australia three years ago I witnessed at Brindisi from the

ship deck a small brawl in a saloon directly opposite. It was an affair which the police in English-speaking countries would have left wholly unnoticed; but there they rushed in, drove everybody out, shut the doors and put the seal of State upon them, and took the licensee to jail, the whole being done in less than five minutes.

Italy is the opposite to France in many respects. She is poor and uneducated, has stricter license laws and stonger wines than France; and yet, as in that country, drunkenness is rapidly on the increase.

Spain, until lately the soberest country in Europe, is now becoming drunken and debauched. In the period from 1873 to 1889 her imports of potato spirits for wine fortifying increased nearly twelvefold.

Spain resembles Italy in that she is generally poor and uneducated, and her wines are heavy. What, then, kept her sober till recently? Evidently not the climate, it is the same now as formerly; her wines, too, are the same, the potato adultera-

tion being chiefly confined to exports. Her sobriety and that of the south of France are mainly due to the lingering influence of the sober Moors.

Southern Switzerland, like the other wine-drinking countries, is in the vortex of increasing drunkenness.

Thus our survey of the wine zone shows the utter fallacy of the contention that wine drinking makes for temperance.

The Beer Zone.—The little country of Belgium stands next to Austria-Hungary as a beer producer, but as a beer consumer it—of all the beer-drinking countries—is an easy first. It has one saloon to each forty-five of its inhabitants, and it consumes *per capita* 169 litres (44½ gallons) annually.

M. Ducpetiaux, Inspector-General of Prisons, recently said: "My experience now extends over a quarter of a century, and I declare that four fifths of the crime and misery that have come before me in my professional or private life have been the result of drink."

The beers of Belgium are generally of a light character, and yet beer-drinking Belgium is the most drunken of countries. Evidently beer is not a temperance drink.

Germany, the chief beer producer on the Continent, has practically free trade in liquor. The licenses, which nowhere exceed twelve dollars, are paid once for all, and are not revoked unless for fault shown. She has lax provisions regarding drunkenness and disorderly conduct, except as affecting the army. Though Germany's army bill is heavy, her annual drink bill is more than three times as great. Little wonder, then, that drunkenness is rampant. Cases of delirium and chronic alcoholism increased from 4,272 in 1877, to 10,360 in 1885. As in Belgium, so here it has been found that beer, though light, is no panacea for drunkenness. And though Germany, like France, is highly educated, her university professors and students furnish as large a proportion as any to the countless victims of drink. Drink and drunken-

ness are appallingly on the increase, and some other remedy must be discovered than beer and education, and even than unrestricted liberty to drink.

Holland is another beer-drinking country. She has made an effort to check the evil by borrowing the Swiss methods—there abandoned as useless—of reducing public houses. From 1881 to 1887 she thus reduced saloons more than forty per cent, but with no appreciable reduction in drink and drunkenness.

Switzerland has done a deal of regulation of her traffic in recent years, and is now under a federal spirit monopoly, with, however, the following as some of the results: The Basle "Society for Combating the use of Alcoholic Liquors," in a statement just issued, and quoting from official statistics, shows that "in the fifteen largest cities of the country every nineteenth grown person owes his death to alcoholism," and "every tenth man in the Swiss towns will become a drunkard."

Switzerland's condition proves that neither wine nor beer, nor the government control of spirits, nor patriotism, nor education, nor salubrious climate, are sufficient, separately or combined, to cope with the overwhelming evils of drink.

In Austria-Hungary a state of affairs similar to that in Germany prevails.

We thus see that beer does not—any more than wine—make for temperance. Education, wealth, or poverty, healthy or unhealthy climate, strict or lax license—one and all are bowled over by the drink ball like ninepins.

The Spirit Zone.—Russia is generally considered to be one of the most drunken countries in the world. This, however, is more in appearance than in fact. Judging from what one sees—especially during the many holidays with which Russia is blessed or blistered (just as one cares to take it), with the Czar's subjects everywhere sprawling on the ground in beastly intoxication—one is led to think that it must indeed be

the most drunken country on the globe. Statistics, however, disprove this assumption, showing that Russia is the smallest beer drinker in the world, not a large wine drinker, and that, as regards spirits, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, and Denmark are heavier drinkers than she. In Russia drunkenness is not regarded as offensive, and hence no steps are taken to prevent its publicity. Both general and local treasuries are recouped from the drink tax, and therefore drink is tolerated if not encouraged. Still, checks are now and then put on the bibulousness of the Czar's subjects, as by increased cost of license, reduction of saloons, their subjection to special surveillance, favoring tea drinking, etc., but as a rule the fiscal considerations outbalance all others. The recent crop failures have called forth widespread protests against spirit distillation, which may lead to a powerful agitation for prohibition, temporarily at least. To sum up for Continental Europe we find:

1. That the two banner countries for freedom of commerce and industry—Switzerland and Holland—are also the most advanced in restricting the freedom of the alcoholic drink traffic, and that despotic Russia comes next.

2. That the two most educated nations—France and Germany—are more drunken than the most ignorant, Russia, Italy, and Spain.

3. That wealth proves to be a more prolific cause of drunkenness than poverty, the surplus earnings being too often expended in drink.

4. That wine and beer are not temperance drinks, and that the two countries inhabited by the chief wine and beer drinkers, and in which the wines and beers are of the lightest character—namely, France and Belgium—are the most drunken; while Russia—almost wholly brandy drinking—is a relatively sober country.

5. That license, whether lax or stringent, is no decisive factor in the problem of drink.

AMONG THE SCANDINAVIANS AND BRITISH.

The Scandinavian and the English-speaking nations of the world have shown the greatest interest in coping with the drink evil.

The Swiss Federal Council Message of November, 1884, shows that Finland is the most sober country in the world, the *per capita* consumption being 0.87 gallons of distilled liquor, and even less of wine and beer; while for Denmark—the least sober country—its estimate is 4.99 gallons of distilled; wine, 0.26 gallons; beer, 8.80 gallons. Denmark consumes *per capita* more than double the amount of spirits of either Russia, Sweden, Germany, Belgium, or Switzerland, and almost double that of the next heaviest consumer of spirits—Holland—with 2.60 gallons. Statistics show that from 1871 to 1880 22 per cent of all the divorces in Denmark were caused by drink, and that among the

insane 19 per cent of the men and 4 per cent of the women were made so by drink. More than one third of the pauperism and three fourths of the arrests are due to drink, 18 per cent of these arrests being directly due to drink heredity. Restrictions upon the traffic—imposed for the first time in 1873—are of a lax character. Denmark has several temperance organizations, with some 35,000 abstainers.

Sweden has always been known as a heavy spirit-drinking country, but of late great reduction in the consumption of liquor, drunkenness, and crime is reported as a result of the now generally in vogue so-called Gothenburg licensing system, which, however, applies only to cities and towns. The rural districts have complete local option as regards the sale of any amount or kind of liquor. The Gothenburg system is briefly this: that the municipalities wholly control the sale of distilled liquors, all others being subject to general license law. They decide the

number of spirit shops, and are pledged to conduct business in the interest of public sobriety and morality, surplus profits to be used for stated social and political institutions and improvements. Being undertaken at first by patriotic men, marked improvement resulted, but latterly the system is proving, if possible, a greater curse than any other regulative effort, for not only does it lead to the establishment of brandy refining rings of the most corrupt character, but to the falsification of statistics in the interest of these concerns, judges, police, and the taxpayers at large being more or less directly interested in showing fair results anyhow. By these means observers have been grossly deceived, but the truth is now becoming known. The latest report (1891) shows, as regards Stockholm, hitherto quoted as the chief model of Gothenburgism, that whereas, in 1890, 8,120 persons (588 of them women) were sentenced for street drunkenness, in 1891, 8,440 persons (of

whom 622 were women) were thus sentenced; and regarding the country at large the official reports are correspondingly discouraging, and this notwithstanding that 1891 was an even poorer year than 1890. Regarding the increase of insanity in Sweden, we find that in 1855 —the first year of the working of the Gothenburg system—there were 10.07 insane per 10,000 inhabitants, but this in 1870 had risen to 21.56; and concerning alcohol as a factor in producing insanity, we find that in 1870 the percentage of the drink insane was 5.075, whereas in 1879 it was 8.022. And yet Sweden has a powerful temperance sentiment, with some 300,000 abstainers in a population of about 4,500,000.

In Norway there is rural local option and a Norwegianized Gothenburg system, the difference being that according to the Norwegian or Bergen system the profits are allocated solely for such charities, benevolent and temperance institutions, as receive

no other public support. Of the Bergen, as of the Gothenburg system, the most exaggerated reports of benefit have been published. In the *Nineteenth Century* (December, 1891) the Earl of Meath, who had recently visited Norway, states: "Experience gained since the law was passed, May 3, 1871, shows conclusively that the vice of drunkenness in Norway has received a staggering blow, and that the consumption of ardent spirits is immensely reduced." But the official statistics recently issued show that in Christiania, the capital, the consumption of brandy was larger during the first six months of 1891 than it had been for a decade past. In 1890 Christiania consumed 179,975 litres (47,549 gallons) to the end of June, and in 1891 the figures had risen to 188,836 litres (49,890 gallons), and with a condition nearly as bad throughout the country.

Of the English-speaking nations Great Britain boasts the strongest moral suasion movement in favor of abstinence, claim-

ing between five and six million abstainers. It prides itself on its religion, philanthropy, science, sanitation, and general enlightenment, backed up by enormous wealth. Yet even there the drink is doing more and more deadly work. In a speech on the national debt, in 1871, Mr. Lowe, then chancellor of the exchequer, said: "In 1825 the consumption of beer in the United Kingdom," *per capita*, "was about one third of a barrel, in 1850 about one half of a barrel, and in 1870–71 about four fifths of a barrel" (a barrel contains 31½ gallons). From 1876 to 1886 the signs seemed favorable to temperance, the drink bill steadily falling; but from that year it has steadily increased, so that, although the ten years from 1870 to 1880 represent nearly $442,260,000 more expended in liquor than during the decade from 1880 to 1890, yet the expenditure of 1890, and still more of 1891, exceeded the annual average from 1871 to 1880, and was higher than in any year since 1878.

At present Great Britain is the first beer-producing country in the world, and the increase is stupendous. Taking the last three years, we find the total beer production to be as follows: 1889, 902,310,979 gallons; 1890, 969,916,500 gallons; 1891, 1,005,710,044 gallons. And the general drink bill has increased from $597,322,115 in 1886 to $677,947,984 in 1890, being an increase, *per capita*, from $16.20 in 1886 to $17.73 in 1890; and the last exchequer returns, just to hand, show an excise increase of $3,523,655 for the nine months ending December 31, 1891.

Comparing the expenditure on drink and religion we find that Great Britain gives, in proportion, five dollars to Bacchus for sixty cents to Christ.

Ireland's drink bill for 1890 was about $53,490,000, its total land rental only about $43,740,000. Which is the greater economic question for Ireland, the land question or the drink question?

In the British colonies of Africa and

Australia the same deplorable condition exists. In Australasia especially the prospects are dark, for, though the drink is far more injurious there than anywhere north of the equator, yet no effective check is imposed upon it. Indeed, in all the colonies—New South Wales and New Zealand possibly excepted—the drink bill has been steadily on the increase during the last ten years. For instance, the drink bill for Victoria, which in 1887 was $25.51 per head, had in 1890 risen to $29.30 per head; while the bill for New South Wales, which in 1887 was $21.93, had fallen to $20.80 in 1890; and that for New Zealand had fallen from $15.80 per head in 1887 to $15.68 in 1890. In both these colonies, however, particularly in New Zealand, with a population of less than 400,000, the report of the chief inspector of distilleries shows that the total consumption of liquor from 1889 to 1890 represents a consumption of eleven gallons to each man, woman, and child in the country; and yet during the

following year the consumption rose to twelve gallons per head. Still, in all the colonies there is a strong temperance sentiment, but it goes almost wholly on moral suasion and restriction lines.

Canada is vastly in advance of Great Britain in its temperance sentiment and legislation; and in actual legislative progress it is ahead even of the United States, for the Dominion House of Commons not only has voted for a parliamentary committee inquiry into the drink traffic and its effects, but has also agreed on the principle of prohibition. Yet there, as everywhere, the drink evil is irresistibly progressing. After the formation of the Dominion in 1866 a strong prohibition agitation resulted in the passing of the Scott Act (1878), conceding total prohibition of the retail liquor traffic to any city and country choosing to adopt it. Its constitutionality being questioned, it did not become law until June, 1882, and measures for its enforcement were not passed till 1883. It

has since been tried in the various provinces. In the greater part of Ontario, comprising nearly half the Dominion population, it was at one time adopted, but now is swept from its statute book. Excepting Prince Edward Island—where as yet it reigns supreme—it has met throughout the Dominion with more or less severe reverses, resulting in return to license or some still weaker form of local option. The progress of the drink evil in Canada may be realized from the following official statistics taken from the Inland Revenue and Trade Navigation returns. In 1889 the consumption of Canadian spirits amounted to 2,326,327 gallons, and in 1890–91 to 3,521,194 gallons of Canadian and 1,043,501 gallons of imported spirits, while of Canadian beer 17,052,077 gallons were consumed. The *Wine and Spirit Gazette*, summarizing these recent official figures of the Internal Revenue Department, says: "Grain and other materials used in the production of distilled spirits

during the fiscal year footed up 26,347,641 bushels. The total product of 'fire water' from grain was 114,178,077 gallons, an increase of more than 6,000,000 gallons over 1890. The quantity of grain used exceeded by over 1,000,000 bushels the amount used in 1890. It was over 5,000,000 bushels more than the average for the last ten years. . . . Enough liquor was produced from grain alone to give each inhabitant of the nation nearly two gallons. Not quite 2,000,000 gallons of rum were also made in this country. The total product of fruit brandy was 1,804,712 gallons."

The Northwest Territory is under prohibition, excepting for a limited gubernatorial permit. In 1881 the total amount of liquors thus imported was 3,175 gallons; in 1885 it had risen to 9,758½ gallons; in 1887 to 21,636 gallons, with 37 convictions for crime, 10 of these being for drunkenness; in 1888 it had risen to 56,388¼ gallons, with 151 convictions,

36 for drunkenness; in 1890 it amounted to 153,670½ gallons, 444 convictions, 92 for drunkenness.

Canada receives some $7,000,000 revenue in return for $25,000,000 expended in drink.

DRINK AND THE UNITED STATES.

That this country has had and has no greater foe than drink has been manifest from the very outset. More than once drink imperiled the safety of the young settlements, and more than once came nigh wrecking the cause of freedom during the War of Independence. Drink created our terrible slavery problem and kept up the cause of slavery; drink precipitated the Civil War and defeated the Northern arms at Bull Run; it prolonged and envenomed the rebellion, and caused "more deaths than bullet, bayonet, and sword combined." And after the war the country groaned more on account of its losses through drink than of its losses through

the war, and yet to-day this enemy is stronger than ever. It is also true that this evil has been in some form and degree combated from the beginning. At first it was a serious question with the founders of our country whether to authorize the drink traffic at all, and up to the war it existed only by toleration, and its political influence was almost nil. At that period the majority of the States, and more than two million of the adult males, according to Clubb's *Maine Liquor Law*, were pronounced in favor of prohibition, so that but for the civil war probably prohibition would long ere this have been the law of the land. The war saved it, and the great issues involved in reunion, reconstruction, restoration, immigration, financial and commercial reforms, concentrated the nation's chief attention away from the drink cancer, until some ten or twelve years ago, when the liquor traffic prohibition revival sprang up, and has since steadily progressed, though as yet with little success.

The forces favoring abstinence and prohibition are very large. The various abstinence organizations—upward of twenty in number—count more than two million members; and the vast extent of prohibition sentiment may be surmised from the Senate report (1888) on the National Prohibitory Amendment, which says: "It can hardly be doubted that at least ten millions of the American people [about one sixth of the entire population] are desirous of national legislation for the destruction of poisonous—that is to say, alcoholic—drinks." And the congressional sentiment on the question is shown by the fact that when, in 1889, the Senate voted whether to take up the amendment or not, thirteen members (all Republicans) voted for, while thirty-three members (twenty-four Democrats and nine Republicans) voted against, its being considered. And in the nineteen States which have held prohibitory amendment elections since 1880, roughly speaking, notwith-

standing overwhelming odds in favor of the traffic, nearly two million votes were cast for constitutional prohibition—only some three hundred thousand majority voting against, more than half of the total of this adverse vote occurring in Pennsylvania.

As regards actual legislation, we find as to temperance education in the public schools that since 1882 thirty-seven States and Territories have passed compulsory temperance education laws.

As regards liquor legislation, the following statistics speak:

System prevailing.	States.	Territories.	Pop. of Area.	Area in square miles.	Pop. per square mile.	Per cent of pop. of States.	Per cent of area of U. S.
License	5	1	2,034,669	303,325	6.7	.032	.087
License the law, local option the exception	26	..	49,985,374	1,662,515	30.06	.79	.476
Prohibition in principle, license in law	6	2	5,267,100	538,130	9.79	.084	.154
Prohibition	7	3	5,312,720 (7 States, 2 Terr. only.)	986,280	5.56	.085	.282
Total	44	6	62,599,863	3,490,250	18.1		

Add to these that in all the States there is prohibition against the sale to drunken people and minors, and that only four States of the Union—namely, California, Montana, Nevada, and Texas—are without a Sunday closing act; and yet, notwithstanding this powerful temperance and prohibition sentiment and legislation, the drink traffic is steadily on the increase.

The following statistics—mostly deduced from the Internal Revenue reports—are terribly eloquent on this matter. Take, for instance, the total production of distilled spirits in the United States:

1878.....	57,000,000 gallons.
1885.....	76,500,000 "
1890.....	97,000,000 "
1891.....	117,000,000 "

The total consumption of alcoholic liquors for the following years was:

Year.	Distilled Liquors—gallons.	Wines—gallons.	Malt Liquors—gallons.	Total consumption—gallons.
1886.....	72,000,000	22,000,000	643,000,000	737,000,000
1888.....	76,000,000	36,000,000	767,500,000	879,500,000
1889.....	80,000,000	34,000,000	780,000,000	894,000,000
1890.....	89,000,000	27,000,000	856,000,000	971,000,000

In 1861 the increase in the consumption of malt liquors alone rose, by the enormous increase of 101,000,000 gallons, to 957,000,000 gallons—an increase in one year of 11.9 per cent.

The total *per capita* consumption of all alcoholic liquors was in

1870	7.97	gallons.
1880	10.16	"
1889	13.86	"
1890	15.49	"

As regards the total number of people engaged in the liquor traffic, we find that they were: in 1889, 207,769; 1890, 208,535; 1891, 230,408 (for twelve months, according to the *National Temperance Advocate*, January, 1892); and 254,469 for fourteen months ending June 30, 1892.

As to revenue, we find the total to be, in round numbers:

1865	$22,000,000
1875	61,000,000
1882	86,000,000
1888	92,000,000
1889	98,000,000
1890	107,000,000
1891	112,000,000

Increase nearly fivefold since 1865, while the population only about doubled.

Sometime ago the Hon. E. A. Morse, member of Congress for Massachusetts, said in an address before the House of Representatives on considering the Alcohol Inquiry bill: "The last census (1880) shows that this country expends annually $500,000,000 for bread and $200,000,000 for meat. . . . Yet, by the report of the United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue, the direct cost to the consumers of the liquor consumed in this country is $1,200,000,000—$500,000,000 more than the entire bread and meat bill of the nation; and undoubtedly the indirect cost of the liquor traffic to the country, in loss of labor and time, in criminal prosecution resulting from drink, is as much more, making a total of $1,800,000,000 wasted upon drink." This waste, plus the incalculable waste of human happiness and human integrity!

As regards 1891, the best estimates place the total drink bill at $1,200,000,000

direct cost, and $900,000,000 more for indirect cost. By direct cost, for every $1 the revenue receives the nation pays $10.72; or, if indirect cost be taken also, $18.76.

Recently the *Rural New Yorker* made some comparative returns which show the total value of all cereals produced in the States (1890) to be $1,320,255,398; total exports for 1890, $845,293,828; total, $2,165,549,226—only equal in amount to the drink bill for 1891.

Judge White, at Pittsburg, May 28, 1889, said: "After fifteen years on the bench, I believe four fifths of all crimes committed are the result, directly or indirectly, of the use of intoxicating liquors. Much of it is due to beer." It follows that three fourths of the expense to the State for the prosecution of criminals is attributed to the same cause.

WHICH? DRINK OR RACE EXTERMINATION?

In other papers I have tried to show warrant for my assertion that "to-day the race

is in visible danger of extermination from the drink," and to briefly indicate why the opinions generally held and the means commonly adopted for checking the drink evil are not sound. Authentic statistics have been cited in proof that light wines and beers are no panacea for drunkenness; that, on the contrary, the populations most given to the use of these are the most addicted to drunkenness; and to show that license, whether in the form of government or municipal monopoly, controlled by the authorities or by the people, is powerless against the drink.

These concluding sections will be confined to a brief critique of the abstinence methods and liquor legislation prevalent in America.

I would state, prefatorily, that the individual liberty cry is the anarchist's cry, and should be put down by a law-abiding people. Individual liberty is an obstacle to civil liberty, for civil liberty is obtainable only by subjecting individual liberty

to its requirements. Were this cry for individual liberty in the indulgence in drink consistent it would be raised for free liquor and against license; but the champions of individual liberty to drink are champions of license. Again, liberty means freedom of choice and conditions of a happy choice. Drink robs man of these in robbing him of his will, his health, and his sanity; hence liberty demands the abolition of drink; and if the advocates of individual liberty are sincere they must demand the suppression instead of the perpetuation of the drink.

I. Moral Suasion.

Educational methods may be summed under the general head of moral suasion. Moral suasion is the oldest and most popular, but also the most hazily understood and ineffectual means for coping with the drink evil. It is commonly understood to mean simply and merely the persuasion of people to abstain from drink, and naturally meets with no opposition from the poli-

tician, and with less and less from the drink traffic.

This conception of moral suasion is not large enough for our day. Formerly, when drink was free and unlicensed, moral suasion was properly compassed by personal appeal to drinker and seller; but from the moment drink became a lawful, licensed institution by the State the sphere of moral suasion became extended to the use of all moral means short of force for obtaining its delicensing and suppression. As long as moral suasion is limited to persuasion as an agent for legal suppression it must fail in the future as it has failed in the past, and will at best amount to constant, heroic, but necessarily inadequate efforts at extinguishing the flames while remaining passive to the constant heaping of fuel on the fire.

II. License—High License—Restriction.

Legal methods for coping with the drink evil may be comprised under two heads—restriction and prohibition.

Restrictionists advocate license and local option.

A deal of confusion exists as to the meaning of license. Restriction was undoubtedly the object of license in the first instance; and so long as there remains one unlicensed man it does restrict the number of sellers. But the claim made in defense of the licensing system, that it restricts liquor consumption and drinking, is not only not established, but the very contrary is true; it serves as permit, sanction, and indorsement. With the masses what the law sanctions is right, and what it forbids wrong; it follows that in their eyes the license makes the liquor traffic right. How, indeed, can it be otherwise when the very license is a moral certificate of the good character of the licensee, and, therefore, of the respectability of the business?

Some twelve years ago the growing movement against license received a sudden check. High license was declared to be the panacea for drunkenness. But high

license is nothing more than an increased pay for license. High license advocates say that this definition is too narrow ; that high license means reduction in the number of saloons, hence reduction of drunkenness and crime, stricter supervision, better enforcement of law, extermination of dives; hence less of dive politics, better saloons, and a better class of men as saloon keepers. If the drink is bad surely it would be safer to have it in surroundings showing its badness than in those that disguise it. But restriction is not identical with, it is only incidental to, high license. Such restrictions could be imposed upon the traffic irrespective of license, and therefore it is an error to claim as fruits of high license what is owing wholly to the restrictive features added in connection with it. With these features we shall deal separately, to prevent confusion.

First, as regards high license. It is the natural outcome of the local option experiments all over the country. By voting no

license the country districts succeeded temporarily in more or less embarrassing the liquor traffic; the result was that the city traffic received more trade; and, as a consequence, ratepayers thought they paid too little for their license; hence high license for the cities.

What is the result of this system? As regards the public, "Anything to relieve taxation," is a general motto. High license, therefore, takes with the general taxpayer, imperceptibly corrupting his conscience in the matter. It creates toleration for the traffic, both private and public, from pulpit, platform, and press. Why? Because it contributes more than ever to the local treasury.

What are the effects of high license on the traffic? What we pay for we prize, and as the saloon keeper is in the business to make money, he must make up from the public for his increased license; but if he cannot increase the price of drink except at loss of custom, he must increase his cus-

tom; hence high license stimulates the liquor business, and the increased license paid by the liquor seller is balanced by the increase in list of liquor consumers. As the Washington *Sentinel* (March 3, 1888) replies to the question, "Who pays the license?" "Of course, the consumer." Or, as Mr. Blaine said in the Philadelphia *Press* as far back as 1882 (November 22), "It is paid only by the consumer." In other words, the liquor seller depends upon the consumer to liberally compensate him for the license he has paid to the local treasury. And, of course, as the liquor seller has to look to the law for the protection of his business, the more profitable it becomes the more eager is he for protection and the more ardent a politician he becomes; and, as his business is evil, its influence upon himself is demoralizing and his influence in politics is evil. High license, therefore, stimulates liquor activity in politics.

High license increases the power of the

liquor monopoly. It makes the business safe and permanent, in that it intrenches it behind the cupidity of the taxpayer. Capitalists feel safe to invest therein—not only liquor lords, but real estate princes. Brewers and distillers combine their forces, forming huge trusts which control the business; and landlords double and quadruple their rents for the liquor palaces erected by the liquor magnates. All of us are acquainted with the mammoth liquor trusts that have sprung up in this country within the last few years, notwithstanding the Sherman Anti-Trust law. And as to the condition of our cities, we find in Chicago, for instance, that fifty per cent of the saloons are owned by the brewers. And the *Catholic Review*, in an article on "The Beer Barons," stated that they, "to the number of eighteen or twenty, hold no less than 4,710 chattel mortgages on saloon fixtures. . . . They are almost as powerful in making candidates for State and municipal offices as the saloon and the dive are in

making subjects for the penitentiary and the State prison." High license, therefore, has powerfully assisted the liquor business to become dominant in politics.

Restrictive features are not novel as regards high license. License itself is arbitrary restriction, and the delimitation of hours of sale and prevention of sale to certain persons are restrictions. But they have failed, because obedience could not easily be enforced. It is, for instance, extremely hard to convict a seller, who has a right to sell to adults, of having sold to a minor, or who has sold to an intoxicated man or habitual drunkard. It is extremely difficult to enforce Sunday closing while the traffic is legal six days in the week, when the vast stock on hand is legal property, proprietor and bartender legal business men, with a host of customers whose appetites do not shut down on Saturday night, and who generally have more leisure and money on Sunday than on any other day except Saturday.

The restrictive features connected with high license have not produced any such results as are claimed for them; in fact, they have produced the contrary results. At first, no doubt, in individual instances, they brought about temporarily such results as reduction in saloons, drunkenness, and crime, stricter police supervision, better enforcement of law, and extermination of dives. But such results have been evanescent, nowhere extending beyond a year or so; while the permanent results have been increase of drunkenness and crime irrespective of the number of saloons, relaxed police supervision and law enforcement, and increase in the number and power of dives.

Do the restrictive features connected with high license exterminate dives? Let us see. After three years' experiment with that policy the grand jury of Chicago, in its report for 1886, said: "Dives of the lowest order defy the city ordinance by keeping open from dawn until midnight and from midnight until dawn."

Do they secure stricter police supervision and better law enforcement? Judge Gordon, addressing the grand jury of Philadelphia about licensing, said: "All but twenty-five [of the 3,422 applicants for license] confessed themselves to be persistent and deliberate violators of the law." Said the Philadelphia *Evening Telegraph* (October 20, 1890) of the Brooks High License law, which contains what are generally admitted to be the best restrictive features of any high license law: "There are thousands of irresponsible persons more or less secretly, and many of them, indeed, practically openly, engaged in selling in defiance of the courts and the law."

Does high license reduce drunkenness and crime? In the before-cited article in the Philadelphia *Evening Telegraph* we read: "It is one of the most notorious facts of the day, known and frankly admitted by all intelligent observers, and fully confirmed in every particular by the wholesale liquor and beer men, that there

is not one drop less of their wares consumed [since the passage of the Brooks Act] than before." And the liquor dealers' organs supply confirmatory evidence. Said *Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular* of the proposed raising of the license fee: "Increase of the license fee in Pennsylvania from $500 to $1,000 will be the best investment the liquor interest has ever made," for "it will have a tendency to make the courts more liberal in the granting of retail licenses, as the receipts of this larger percentage [9–10] of the fee will be directly felt by the taxpayers." And the New York *Wine and Spirit Gazette* (June 12, 1891) says: "It must be admitted that the Philadelphia liquor barons, whose stores are at present bonanzas, favor the increase of the annual license fee to $2,000. The higher the fee the better their chance of crowding the little fellows out of the business and creating a monopoly by which a few will make large fortunes."

Does restrictive high license reduce

crime? Said Samuel H. Ashbridge, one of the coroners of Philadelphia: "There was in 1888 an increase of twenty per cent over 1887 in deaths due directly to the influence of alcoholism. This was due to the high license." Or take the city of Joliet, Ill.; the $1,000 license closed one-half of her saloons, but the total arrests increased from 694 in 1883 to 1,326 in 1888, and arrests for drunkenness from 271 to 831.

High license has proved an effective bar against prohibition. The leading liquor sellers have eulogized it on that account; and *The Western Brewer*, of Chicago (December 15, 1887), said that "high-license Illinois, Nebraska, and Minnesota would be as likely to favor prohibition as Iowa; now there is no danger of prohibition so long as the license law is maintained and fairly enforced."

But, granting that all were true that is claimed in favor of high license, what then? The system would be as immoral as all other liquor licensing. The price

paid does not touch the guilt of the offense; and the only justification that could be offered for the system would be the immoral doctrine that the end justifies the means.

PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

The preceding paragraphs treated of the spurious individual liberty plea, the great drink defense of demagogues and anarchists; in the present paper another antimoral suasion plea will be considered, namely, that of waiting for public sentiment. This plea that public sentiment is not ripe for prohibition, that even temperance sentiment is not, as a whole, ready for it, and that, therefore, until this is the case we must refrain from urging and voting prohibition, is pressed alike by the foes and friends of prohibition, and stoutly advocated by some of the noblest Christian and temperance reformers of our day. They say, in effect, "We are governed by majorities; unless a majority favor the law it will be a dead letter, and that would set back, in-

stead of advance, the cause of prohibition. Hence we must wait with prohibition until the majority of the public sentiment favors it." As a result the mass of temperance workers and many prohibitionists dare not advocate, much less vote for, it, and some even hesitate to utter the word prohibition lest public sentiment be shocked and the cause of prohibition injured.

Public sentiment is the sentiment of the public. Each member of that public contributes his or her share to it. The only method of creating and educating public sentiment rightly is for individuals to think and act rightly. Only thus far are they responsible for public sentiment; but that degree of responsibility no one can escape. Unripeness of public sentiment should urge all good citizens to redoubled activity for making it ripe. If prohibition is a right thing, praying, preaching, and voting prohibition are the means of educating public sentiment, while failing to do so is to assume responsibility for its unripe-

ness. Let us remember that public sentiment is responsible for the righteousness, not the enforcement, of the law.

This plea of waiting is an un-Christian plea. The decalogue is to this day in advance of public sentiment. Christ came to earth far in advance of the ripeness of public sentiment to receive him. Had he acted on the public sentiment doctrine how many generations yet unborn would have had to wait for his coming.

The statement that majorities rule is both truth and fiction. It is true that no community was ever governed by a majority, but always by an energetic and iron-willed minority, who know what they want and how to make the majority do their will. But it is a fiction to assume that that majority in thus voting expresses its own convictions. If the really good, able, and sincere friends of prohibition (prohibition of the drink, not merely of the drink traffic) would unitedly work with a will, they could, with the immense public sen-

timent that favors prohibition and morality, in a short time carry the day.

III. Local Option.

Local option (*opto*, to choose), local choice, local self-government. Applied to the drink traffic it signifies the right of localities to determine whether licensed sale of liquors shall or shall not be permitted in their midst. As high license is the outgrowth of local option, so local option is of license, in this way: License is granted and enforced by local authorities. When the people began to oppose the drink traffic, and found the local authorities protecting it, they turned to the State authorities for help, and these, seeing in such legislation an easy means of escape from responsibility for either license or no license, readily granted this request. It has been on trial in this country for some sixty years; nearly every State and Territory in the Union has tried it, many repeatedly; and at present some thirty-two States—in-

cluding all the Southern—containing more than fifty-five of our sixty-two million inhabitants, are under local option statutes.

Local option is claimed as a great temperance measure. If that be so, how do we explain the colossal increase in the *per capita* consumption of alcoholic liquors in this country, from 9.79 gallons in 1870 to 15.49 gallons in 1890? To further emphasize the failure of local option, let us compare the *per capita* consumption of malt liquors in two representative local option States, namely, Illinois and Ohio, with that in two representative prohibition States, Iowa and Kansas: while the *per capita* consumption of malt liquors in Illinois amounted to 17.968 gallons, and in Ohio to 19.740 gallons, the consumption in Iowa was 1.454 gallons, and in Kansas .059 gallons.

But local option has a strong hold upon the public. It is said to be democratic and American. The principle of local self-government no doubt is, but questions in-

volving more than local interests are not of merely local concern—not even in the degree they affect the locality—and they are properly subject to general jurisdiction in the degree that they reach beyond the locality. Absorption of local rights by the State leads to despotism, and local arbitration in State matters to disintegration and anarchy. The evil results of the liquor traffic—those which alone justify special interference with it—cannot, as we know, be confined by local boundaries; therefore the principle of local option is an inapplicable and improper method for coping with the drink evil. "The State is the normal unit of sovereignty," says Judge Pitman in his *Alcohol and the State*, "and it is opposed to sound theories of government to transfer to local fractions the decision of a question of such general and far-reaching importance." And ex-Secretary Bayard, while United States Senator (1881), pronounced local option "of very doubtful constitutionality and positive inexpedi-

ency," declaring it to be "quite as unsafe" applied to the drink traffic (the mother of crimes) as to the punishment of criminals. The principle of local option being unsound, the various expediency pleas offered in its support must, of course, be unsound. Still, because of the deep hold this method has upon the public mind, we will consider these somewhat in detail:

1. It is said that local option is nonpartisan, hence the golden mean for union of all enemies of the saloon. Possibly, as far as the vote goes; but how about enforcement? No party is pledged to it, no party is responsible for it. Enforcement may cost the local officers their places, while nonenforcement will only enrage the local prohibitionists. Besides, convictions are both costly and difficult, and, when secured, the penalties are light, the costs heavy; whether acquitted or convicted, the lawbreaking liquor seller, supported and protected by the nationally organized liquor traffic, is, in the main, victorious.

2. Local option, it is said, can be secured where prohibition is impossible. No doubt; but the law that cannot be enforced, or whose enforcement leads to its abrogation, is worthless.

3. It is asked, "Is it just and fair that localities ripe for prohibition should be compelled to wait till all the rest are ready?" Localities ripe for prohibition had better wait till they can get enforceable and permanent prohibition. By accepting local prohibition they are likely to lose State prohibition. Besides, where does the injustice of this waiting come in? Ripeness means that they are comparatively free from the drink traffic, hence able to vote it out; unripeness, that the local drink traffic is too powerful. The voting out of the traffic in one locality means shifting their burden to those already more heavily weighted.

4. It is claimed as a fact that local option has freed vast areas of rural districts from the drink, and that thus the yeoman popu-

lation—the "bone and sinew" of our country—have largely been saved from the drink ravages. Wherever this has been done the evil has been transferred to the cities. The country people visit the cities. These afford rich opportunities of amusement, dissipation, comfort, and wealth; and the country people, ignorant of the dangers of city life, fall easy victims to the allurements of the drink.

Another point is well stated by Professor Scomp, in his article on local option: *

"Local option, like license, makes revenues local, but expenses general. As license naturally shifts to the crowded communities its revenues flow to the towns. To purchase popular indulgence these fees are commonly decreed to schools and benevolent purposes. Thus it has happened, especially in the South, that nearly all the well-supported public schools are in license towns, and depend chiefly upon the liquor revenue for sustenance. As a consequence,

* *Temperance Cyclopedia.*

thousands of families of our most substantial rural population are annually drawn into these towns to enjoy the benefits of the schools, and the children are brought face to face with the saloons and grow up under their baleful influence. The rural districts, on the contrary, thus lose their bone and sinew, their schools are made yet poorer, and their industries languish. Thus the system operates to degenerate the people, to crowd the towns, and to depopulate and pauperize the country."

5. It is claimed that local option, by the local elimination of the drink traffic, becomes a natural stepping-stone to prohibition. Though it has been tried for sixty years all over the States it has nowhere led to prohibition. And as regards its gradual elimination of the traffic, taking only the last three years, we find that the total number of those connected with the liquor business increased from 207,769 in 1889 to 254,469 in 1891.

6. It is urged that local option, by con-

stantly calling public attention to the enormities of the saloon, is a steady agitator and educator to prohibition. As local option causes neglect of local reforms; as it produces bitterness and chicanery of all kinds, both in politics and society; as it is by the masses considered a class measure, suppressing the poor man's "pub," but sparing the rich man's club; as it is rarely enforced, and as enforcement—in prosperous localities at any rate—means abrogation, and as it never settles the question, it educates the public to believe that prohibition does not prohibit, and that it is a nuisance. On the other hand, by its equalization of right and wrong, it injures public respect for law and order. It splits up into local cliques the prohibition sentiment that exists in State and nation, and fosters local selfishness. When asked to vote for prohibition the local optionist says, "Vote out your saloons." To the prohibitionist asking for prohibition the politician says, "Why don't you vote out your saloons?" When

told they cannot he replies, "If you cannot vote them out of your own district how do you expect the State to do it?"

The Constitutional Amendment campaigns—both North and South—show that the heaviest majorities against amendments were cast in local option counties. In Massachusetts, for instance, at municipal elections preceding the amendment contest, Cambridge gave a majority of 666 against license, but she gave 1,638 against the prohibitory amendment. Quincy downed license with 946 majority; she also downed the prohibition amendment by 578 majority.

To sum up: Local option is false in principle; inadequate, burdensome, and demoralizing in practice; it is a makeshift which necessitates constant shifting in the quality of law, in the execution of law; it is too optional, too local, too temporary. It is an educator to anarchy, making the law-breaking liquor seller the champion of public liberty and equality in the eyes of

the masses; it is a stumbling-block instead of a stepping-stone to prohibition, leaving the traffic impregnably intrenched behind the lawfully expressed will of the people. It is as senseless and mischievous a remedy of the drink evil as it would be to try to cure a cancer by cutting it away piecemeal, or smallpox by cutting out the pits here and there.

As to the difference between local option and prohibition, local option places license and prohibition upon an equal plane, whereas prohibition excludes license. Local option is the tree of good and evil, prohibition the tree of life.

IV. Prohibition.

It has been shown that license is inadequate to cope with the drink evil, that restrictions of all kinds short of prohibition have proved ineffectual, and that hence upon prohibition only can we rely for the salvation of the race from the drink curse and drink destruction.

Prohibition is, in fact, the extreme application of the principle accepted in license. "License presupposes a prohibition to sell as to those who have no license," said Justice McLean. And Justice Catron, "I admit it as inevitable that if the State has the power of restraint by license to any extent she has the discretionary power to judge of its limits, and may go to the length of prohibiting sales altogether." And Chief Justice Taney said, "I see nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent it [the State] from regulating or restraining the traffic, or from prohibiting it altogether if it thinks proper." These *dicta* from the United States Supreme Court show that in the right to license inheres the right to prohibit.

But it is said, "Prohibition doesn't prohibit." We are, in the first place, concerned with the righteousness of the law. Prohibition is right, and educates for righteousness. As regards law breaking, there could scarcely be more law violation under

prohibition than exists under license, with this vital difference, that, in the case of license, law breaking merely means violation of a statute sanctioning and protecting wrong; in the case of prohibition, of a statute condemning wrong; so that if enforcement of law is the criterion for its existence, license itself stands condemned as much as prohibition. But what does this doctrine mean, if not that successful law-breaking should invalidate righteous law?

Prohibition has never yet had a fair chance; still, where it has been attempted it has been found to be as enforceable as any other law. Adequate penalties attached to the violation of prohibitory law will prohibit wherever there is a law-abiding community; but the question-begging catch phrases of "individual liberty," "public sentiment unripe," "prohibition doesn't prohibit," are educating the people fatally away from proper conception of law either in essence or as the prime agency for the founding, effectuation, and preservation of

our best institutions, and of organized society itself. The very fact that prohibition outlaws the traffic, and therefore drives all legitimate capital away from it, and that, under a prohibition law, liquor, wherever found, is *prima facie* evidence of law breaking, shows that prohibition breaks the backbone of the traffic, and therefore prohibits.

Until the Christian Churches take up the case of prohibition—a subject with which I have dealt at length in a series of articles in *The Christian Advocate*—prohibition cannot be carried. It is a question of life and death not only to this country, to Christianity, and to civilization, but to the entire human family; and, as we have also seen, the time of grace for opportunity to crush this hydra-evil is so rapidly passing away that, judging from the consensus of opinion and evidence furnished by statistics over the civilized world, at most a generation or two must settle whether it shall be drink or race extermination.

IS LABOR A COMMODITY?

IS LABOR A COMMODITY?

By Washington Gladden, D.D.

THAT labor may be considered and treated as a commodity is beyond question. That it is so considered by some economists, and so treated by some employers, is undeniable. Whatever can be purchased for money is a commodity, and labor is purchased and sold for money. That it is, and to some extent must be, under the law of supply and demand; that scarcity of labor has a tendency to make it dear, and that abundance cheapens it, is also evident.

Is it anything other and more than a commodity? Should the economist and the employer put it in the same category with corn and coal and pig iron, or does it belong in a different category? Are there any other laws besides the law of supply

and demand that should govern the purchase and the sale of labor?

That the labor market ought to be free may be admitted. That the employer should be free to purchase labor of those who will sell it to him at the lowest price, and that the workman should be free to sell his labor to those who will buy it of him at the highest price, seems evident. Our laws assume and guarantee this freedom. Nevertheless, it is somewhat abridged by combinations on both sides, employers combining to reduce and laborers to enhance the price of labor.

It may also be admitted that self-interest, in its three forms of desire of wealth, love of ease, and craving for costly indulgences, is a fairly constant element in human nature, and a powerful force in determining the selling price of labor. Given a free market, to which no employers and no laborers resort who are not wholly under the sway of these egoistic motives, and it would be a sound deduction that the

rate of wages would be governed wholly by the relation between the supply of service and the demand for work. Some economists have assumed a market absolutely free, and a race of human beings so purely egoistic that no important correction, due to the operation of other motives, needs to be made in the calculation of their conduct. On this basis they have constructed a science of wealth. The "economic man" of these economists is a man governed wholly by avarice and indolence and love of pleasure; the business of economy, they say, is simply to find out how such men will act and what will be the consequences of their action. It is not necessary to prove that such a man, if a purchaser of labor, will always buy it in the cheapest market, and, if a seller of labor, will sell it in the dearest. Labor, in the estimation of such a man, will be nothing but a commodity.

I will not here discuss the utility of this conception of the "economic man." Let it be granted that some scientific gains may

result from considering man solely as a money-making and pleasure-loving being. But great practical difficulties have arisen from confounding the "economic man" with the actual man. Not a little of the trouble now existing in the industrial world has sprung from this confusion. The "laws" of political economy, as drawn from observation of the "economic man," have been supposed to be laws of conduct; men have read the descriptions of the actions of men under the influence of egoistic motives, and have regarded themselves as authorized to act in the same way. Indeed, some of the more enthusiastic students of this science have gone so far as to say that when men act solely from self-interested motives the result of their action will be wholly beneficent; from which it follows that selfishness is a duty. But when this conclusion has not been stated it has often been inferred from those discussions which, in the words of John Stuart Mill, are "concerned with man solely as a being who de-

sires to possess wealth," and which make "entire abstraction of every other human passion or motive, except those which may be regarded as perpetually antagonizing principles to the desire of wealth, namely, aversion to labor and desire of the present enjoyment of costly indulgences." The economists of this school endeavor to show us how men will act under the influence of these passions, and men say, "This is the way we ought to act."

When human beings are acting freely, under the impulse of self-interest, say these economists, labor will always be bought in the cheapest market and sold in the dearest; the law of supply and demand will regulate the prices. Other teachers, rising up to instruct the people, take their words out of their mouths and transform them from an economic generalization into a moral obligation. "Labor, like flour or cotton cloth," say these moralists, "should always be bought in the cheapest market and sold in the dearest. The sole legitimate

condition that regulates wages is the demand for service and the supply of workers." Hence we get the dogma that labor is nothing but a commodity; that it is to be put into the same category with flour or cotton cloth; that no different motives or principles are involved in the purchase and sale of it from those which are involved in dealing with other forms of merchandise.

This confusion of what is with what ought to be is a source of great mischief, and it should not be difficult to detect the fallacy and avoid the resulting injury. Political economy recognizes many facts and points out many tendencies which the wisest of its teachers do not approve. "In Circassia," says President Walker, "a beautiful daughter is wealth, and is popularly and justly so accounted. No one, in making up the list of his wealth, could omit this item from the account any more than he would leave out his fields." The economist records the fact that a daughter is merchandise in Circassia, but it does not

follow that she ought to be. And there are quite a number of economic facts in this country that do not require of us apology or reproduction. It may be true that there is a strong tendency among the purchasers of labor to regard labor simply as a commodity; that the actual man, in the person of the employer, is becoming more and more assimilated to the "economic man" of the theorists; but, if so, the tendency ought to be resisted. Doubtless the massing of capital under the large system of industry promotes this tendency. The men who receive the profits often have no knowledge whatever of those who receive the wages. Labor, to the people who pocket the dividends, is often just as impersonal as coal or cotton. This is what is, but is it what ought to be? Is it not, indeed, a serious question whether an industrial system thus constituted can permanently and peacefully endure? Let us, however, consider the simpler case of an individual employer.

A cotton manufacturer goes to New York and purchases a hundred bales of cotton for his mill. Of course, he buys them in the cheapest market. This is the law of trade. It is impossible for him to consider what the effect of this purchase may be upon the seller of the cotton; he buys it in open market as cheaply as he can, and that is the end of the transaction. At the same time he hires a hundred men, women, and children to work in his mill. Doubtless he buys this labor as he bought his cotton, at the cheapest market price. These laborers, under their contract, come to live in the neighborhood of his mill, perhaps in tenements owned by him. He meets them, more or less, day by day; he knows, or may know, something of their manner of life; his relation with them is, to some extent, personal and continuous. Is it now desirable or possible for the employer, under the relation thus formed, to put this labor, which he thus purchases and uses, into exactly the

same category with his cotton? Can he deal with this labor wisely and productively if he does not bring into action any other feelings or motives or principles of conduct than those which come into play when he purchases his cotton on the cotton exchange and ships it to his factory? Let it be granted that he has a right to buy cotton at the market rate, and that he is not bound to ask any questions, for conscience sake, as to what will become of the men who sell it. May he purchase his labor in the same way, at the market rate, and have no care as to what becomes of the people who sell it? Does he thus establish a proper relation between himself and them—a relation that is likely to be permanent and peaceful and profitable to him and to them? If these questions cannot be answered without hesitation in the affirmative, some suspicion is thrown on the theory that labor is nothing but a commodity.

For my own part, I must express a

doubt as to whether such a theory is workable. There may be some scientific advantage in formulating it, but it does not seem to include and explain the facts of life. It might afford a curious and interesting study if one were to consider human beings simply as clothes-wearing animals, and to formulate a science of clothes-wearing, showing the effect on individuals and on society of desiring clothes, and of buying and selling clothes, and of wearing clothes. Carlyle has laid the foundation of such a science in *Sartor Resartus*, and some valuable hints might be gained from its generalizations as to our relations with our fellow-men; but it is not at all clear that such a science would afford an adequate basis on which human beings could usefully associate for any purpose whatever. Man is a clothes-wearing animal, but he is something more. Man is also a money-making animal, but he is something more. If he were nothing but a money-making animal it might be correct

to regard labor simply as merchandise; if he is something more the philosophy which makes abstraction of everything else but the desire of wealth, and the passions which directly antagonize this desire, furnishes no adequate rule of human conduct.

The theory that labor is to be regarded simply as a commodity does not, I say, appear to include some of the cardinal facts arising out of the relation between the employer and the laborer. To go back to our cotton manufacturer, what does he desire when he hires the hundred laborers? Does he merely desire to employ the muscular power of these persons for a certain number of hours a day, as if they were beasts of burden? Probably he expects a great deal more than this. He wants intelligence, skill, and honesty; he wants a practical interest in the work on the part of the workers; he wants their hearty good will toward himself and toward the enterprise; he wants them to be cheerful and hopeful in their work, since

work that is not done in this temper is not apt to be well done. Are these intellectual and moral elements no part of the labor? I think that they are essential parts of it; that the labor which lacks these is worth but little. Are these elements obtainable by those who proceed upon the theory that labor is simply a commodity to be bought in the cheapest market and sold in the dearest? A slight knowledge of human nature and a little observation of human relations will convince any man that they are not. The employer who wants these elements infused into the labor that he purchases must consider and treat this labor as if it were something besides merchandise. Sentiments, motives, principles of action must come into play in dealing with labor that find no place in the purchase of cotton or of corn, or else these intellectual and moral qualities which give to labor the greater part of its value will not be properly developed. If the employer desires intelligence

and skill he must treat his laborers as if they were intelligent beings; if he wants them to be trusty he must not only trust them, he must himself be trustworthy; their good will toward him can only be begotten by his good will toward them; their interest in the enterprise will be aroused by showing them that the enterprise is conducted in their interest.

The employer and his laborers are cooperating in production; and men cannot cooperate successfully for any purpose if the sole bond between them is self-interest. The theory that free contract and cash payment furnish a sufficient basis for industrial society has been tried and found wanting. The notion that the relation between masters and men should be regulated solely by supply and demand—that thus the master will get the most labor and the men the most wages and the community the greatest benefit, is a very pernicious notion. John Ruskin's theories of political economy may often be wide of the

mark, but what he says about this pestilent heresy is everlasting truth:

"It would be so if the servant were an engine of which the motive power was steam, magnetism, gravitation, or any other agent of calculable force. But he being, on the contrary, an engine whose motive power is a soul, the force of this very peculiar agent, as an unknown quantity, enters into all the political economist's equations without his knowledge, and falsifies every one of their results. The largest quantity of work will not be done by this curious engine for pay, or under pressure, or by help of any kind of fuel which may be applied by the caldron. It will be done only when the motive force, that is to say, when the will or spirit of the creature is brought to its greatest strength by its own proper fuel, namely, by the affections."

Whatever may be said, therefore, about the scientific value of this theory, by which self-interest in its coarsest form is regarded

as the sole economic force, it is evident that it is a theory which very inadequately explains the facts of industrial society, and which, when adopted as a philosophy of industrial society and put to work, is sure to make unceasing trouble. As a matter of fact, it has been adopted consistently by but few employers; the attempt to follow it to its logical results would quickly plunge society into chaos and anarchy. It is the constant bringing in of other and better principles of action which makes possible the cooperation of employer and laborer. The theory that labor is nothing but a commodity is a theory that will not work. Nothing is more unphilosophical, nothing can be more stupidly unpractical than to try to bring human beings together and to get them to associate for industrial purposes, or any other purposes, upon a basis that is essentially unsocial. That is exactly what is attempted when industrial organizations are founded upon the theory that labor is simply a commodity, and that

the only principle which can regulate the relation of employer and laborer is the law of supply and demand. It must by this time begin to dawn upon the minds of some of its most ardent advocates that there is some flaw in this theory.

But the fact that it is not workable is not the only reason for condemning it. By the practical test it is found wanting; by the ethical test it must also be rejected. The employer is bound to consider the effect of the employment which he furnishes, and of the reward which he gives for this service, upon the lives of those whom he employs. The health, the morality, the happiness of the people whom he employs are affected more or less by the work they are doing and the life which they needs must live. So far as it is in his power he is bound to see to it that they take no detriment from the work he gives them or from the environment which he provides for them. Especially is this true if he is prospering by the use of their labor. He has

no right to grow rich and powerful while the people by whose labor he is thriving are poor and hungry and hopeless. He has no right to wax fat by consuming their strength and their life. It is possible that some of the disciples of Ricardo may require me to prove these propositions; but I am loath to argue the thesis that a man ought not to be a cannibal. I will venture to regard it as a moral axiom. All talk of cheapest and dearest markets is impertinent in face of these great facts of human degradation and human suffering. The employer is bound to know how the people whom he employs are affected by the work that he furnishes and by the wages that he pays. If the conditions under which they are at work are unsanitary, so that their vitality is needlessly impaired by their labor, he must correct that evil; if the wage that he pays is so small that they are starving he must not heap up profits coined from their lifeblood, no matter what the market rate of wages may be; if the whole

effect of the labor which he furnishes them and of the recompense which he gives them be to rob them of heart and hope and vigor, it is plain that he has no vocation as an employer; let him get this business, which he is bungling so fatally, out of his hands at once. The man who enters the labor market as a buyer must beware lest he impair or destroy this vital force on whose healthy action the life and prosperity of the country depend.

Those who recognize no higher law than that of patriotism must feel the force of this obligation. The welfare of the nation requires the highest possible degree of health, vigor, and independence in all its citizens. It is not by the amount of wealth produced, so much as by the productive energy of the whole people, that the state of the nation is most wisely judged. A people's life consists, no more than a man's life, in the abundance of the things which it possesses. It is not commodities that we want so much as men. The main ques-

tion for the people to ask is not how fast the aggregate of their products is increasing, but rather how it fares with the multitude of their producers. It is just here that the political economy of the Ricardian school diverges from that of later economists. The one fixed its attention wholly on the increase of the national wealth, the other considers more anxiously the increase of the national vigor. Says a recent writer:

"The rapid increase of wealth may be taking place at the cost of the future and to the detriment of posterity; and while the increase of the comforts and enjoyments of life is a good thing, it is not a good thing that they should be obtained by imposing an intolerable burden on those who come after us. We cannot, then, be satisfied with economic principles which are almost wholly concerned with the greatest production of useful things in the present, but we require principles that shall help us to husband the strength and resources of the nation to the best of our wisdom."

This is the right end for the nation to keep in view, and it is no less the proper aim of every good citizen. The individual employer must bring his enterprise to this test. The question is not merely whether he is multiplying the abundance of things; the more urgent question is whether he is improving the quality of the citizens. If he can so organize labor as to make the people about him constantly more intelligent, more vigorous in body and brain, more hopeful and more contented, he is a benefactor; if the effect of the labor which he organizes upon the people who perform it is to render them more and more degraded and discouraged and incapable of self-support, he is a malefactor, a public enemy, no matter how useful may be the wares that he produces or how abundant the profits that he hoards.

The labor of the nation is the life of the nation; is that a commodity to be bought in the cheapest market and sold in the dearest?

THE PAULINE DOCTRINE OF THE SWORD.

THE PAULINE DOCTRINE OF THE SWORD.

By A. J. F. Behrends, D.D.

PAUL believed in a magistracy which has a sword. Judging from some recent utterances, Paul's sociology was very crude, whatever may be true of his theology, which I very much fear would be regarded by the new prophets as equally antiquated. For he believed in a goodness of God which cooperated with severity in securing its holy and blessed ends, in a love which had wrath in it, in a salvation by grace which provided for the supremacy of righteousness in all who received it. For myself I am prepared to accept the Pauline political economy as I do the Pauline theology. This man, who worked with his own hands while he preached, that he might be chargeable to none, in

whom the spirit of self-sacrificing love was a burning passion, who has enriched the world's literature with the noblest eulogy on charity, who had every personal reason to hate the government under which he lived, believed in a magistracy with a sword. So do I. A sword is a very dangerous thing, and it has done vast mischief in careless and cruel hands; but that is no good reason for throwing away the sword. It must still be used against evil doers, and only to such is it a terror.

It is a somewhat startling proposition which the Duke of Argyll, who has achieved equal distinction in literature and in political life, and who is now apparently nearing the end of mortal life, lays down when, in his last book on the *Unseen Foundations of Society*, he writes: "We may confidently affirm, then, that all theories, whether of religion or of ethics, which disparage the military instinct, or which fail to grasp the universal fact that every existing civilization rests ultimately on a military organi-

zation, are theories which have no practical application to the condition of humanity as it now exists, or as it ever has existed, so far as is historically known to us." And hence he regards it as a very superficial interpretation of mediæval society as contrasted with our modern life to say that during the Middle Ages government rested upon a military basis. The fact is that without such a basis there can be no government. The American colonies secured their independence by success in war, and another and costlier war had to be fought to preserve the American Union, while few national projects have commanded more general approval than the enlargement and equipment of the American navy. Our jealousy of standing armies and our intense dislike of military despotism should not blind us to the fact that American institutions owe as much to the soldier as they do to the statesman. Law is a mockery where there is no power to enforce it. The sentence of the judge

would be a farce were there no sheriff charged with its prompt and due execution; and the sheriff is practically a military officer. Might does not make right; but right is an empty word unless there be might to enforce it. That might gives meaning to the policeman's shield, to his blue coat and brass buttons, to the soldier's uniform and the sergeant's stripes and the captain's shoulder-straps, and to the ironclads of the White Squadron. Society must enforce its judgments. The judgments may be wrong, and then their enforcement is tyranny, while the tyranny may be such as to provoke armed revolution. But where the judgments are right it still remains true that force of some kind must be employed to make them effective. Government must not only speak, it must strike. The doctrine which makes bayonets and Gatling guns a superfluity and a menace must include in its condemnation and hatred all police organization, and must insist upon the overthrow of the ju-

diciary. For law without penalty, and penalty without power to enforce it, whether it be a fine, or imprisonment, or death, would become the laughing stock of the world in a twelvemonth. Anarchy is inevitable where there is no sword; and when a policeman lays his hand upon a man's shoulder, or when the sheriff slips the handcuffs upon the convicted criminal's wrists, the sword flashes.

It is an unmanly and an un-Christian sentimentalism which decries and deprecates the use of arms in the maintenance of social order. The doctrine of sacrifice is not the encouragement and justification of lawlessness. I am to love my neighbor as myself, but I love neither my neighbor nor myself when I permit a mob to terrorize a peaceful community. That is cowardice, not Christianity. There are prophets among us who preach the gospel of non-resistance, who go so far as to tell me that I have no right to defend myself or my home; that I must love the criminal out of

his brutality and kiss his hand even when he smites mine and me. I have no patience with the lugubrious piety of these advocates, whose program would surrender the world to the devil and his agents. The doctrine is diabolical. It is not the doctrine of the Bible. It has its vision of universal peace, when swords shall be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks. But that vision contemplates a period when swords and spears are no longer needed, because all men know and love the Lord. Meanwhile swords and spears cannot be summarily dispensed with. Government must continue to be a terror to evil doers. The magistracy must have a sword and must use it vigorously when occasion requires.

Our streets have nearly resumed their wonted appearance.* Order has been measurably restored. The debate has been car-

* The allusion is to the riotous acts of the "striking" employees of the Brooklyn (N. Y.) electric railroads in January, 1895. [ED.]

ried into the courts, where justice will be done without fear or favor. On the morning of the first Sunday, when violence had made its appearance in our streets, I made a short and emphatic appeal for the maintenance of order, and what I said seemed to command your approval. It subjected me to misinterpretation and abuse. I expected as much, for I well know that when passion comes in reason goes out. But I knew, too, that reason would return. And so I have waited in silence until the air had cleared. I had no sermons to preach while stones and brickbats were flying and cavalrymen were needed to disperse the rioters. But now that our city has begun to recover from civic turbulence, and is once more turning its energy into the channels of peaceful pursuits, I have something to say as preparing us for the possible recurrence of similar experiences. For it is idle to suppose that such things will not be repeated, and the lessons of the past few weeks should be laid to heart. And in the

interest of clearness I propose to touch upon several things which should be kept distinct from each other, but which have been most singularly confounded.

To begin, then, with corporations which hold valuable public franchises. They are creatures of law, and they are amenable to law. They are incorporated for the benefit of the public, and the rights of the public are therefore paramount. The rights of the public take precedence of the profits of stockholders and the demands of employees. The State has a right to insist upon safe and efficient service. But, on the other hand, the State may not impose unreasonable conditions. What the State demands it must make it possible for the corporation to do. No man can discharge a duty unless he is amply protected in the attempt. And when a corporation is crippled by a strike without warning, instantly followed by brutal assaults upon inoffending men, the wrecking of cars and the cutting of wires, and complicated by the abro-

gation of contracts solemnly entered into, with fierce protests against police and military protection, it is rankest injustice and tyranny to demand that a corporation shall instantly and fully discharge all its obligations and at the same time assume the burden of protecting itself against violence. The corporations, it has been said, should be made to pay the bills which the county will have to meet. Imagine the howls of execration which would have greeted the appearance of ten thousand armed Pinkertons in our streets! Homestead taught us the lesson that the public will not tolerate the organization of a private military force. It is a criminal offense to carry concealed weapons, and the most dangerous menace to public peace would be a policy which permitted or forced corporations to employ their own defenders. The sword belongs to the magistracy. That is the only safe doctrine. The State must keep the peace for individuals and for corporations. It must exact obedience to its laws, but it

is also bound to protect individuals and corporations in their attempts to obey the law. A corporation is a solemn compact between the State and certain individual citizens. They are supposed to have entered into an agreement which is satisfactory to both sides. The corporation may surrender its charter if it finds compliance with the conditions burdensome. The State may annul the charter if by due process in law it can be shown that the charter was fraudulently secured or that its conditions have been deliberately violated. But while the charter remains in force it is the highest form of public contract, obedience to which on the part of the corporation must be made possible by the completest protection which the State can give. A trolley wire and a trolley car are as much property as the house you live in, and are entitled to exactly the same protection. Motormen and conductors are citizens and subjects as much as you and I, and are entitled to exactly the same protection. The hand

that wrecks a car is raised against every home in the city. The violence which smites a "scab" smites every man, woman, and child in Brooklyn. You cannot excuse violence in some cases without inviting it in all cases. The State cannot and ought not to permit it. It must exact obedience to law from each, and grant to each amplest protection in the discharge of his duties. To this obedience corporations must be held, and to this protection corporations are entitled.

I pass to a second matter. The law makes every man his own master. It tolerates no industrial enslavement. It leaves every man free to choose his own avocation and make his own contracts. He cannot be forced to work upon terms which are unsatisfactory to him. He can be held only to his voluntary contract. He is not tied down to a place, as were the workingmen of the Middle Ages. All restrictions have been removed from him. He can go anywhere and work for any-

body he likes. He is at liberty to make the best terms he can. Compulsory arbitration has been talked of, but that is the sword which cuts both ways. It could most easily be enforced against corporations by paralyzing their business and forcing them into bankruptcy. But if the decision should be against the employees how are you going to enforce the judgment? Can you compel six hundred, or six thousand, or sixty thousand men to go back to work or remain at work? I am very much mistaken if one such an experiment would not show the futility of the method and create a universal revolt among the workingmen. An embargo upon personal liberty is not to be thought of. Every man must be left free to work for whom he chooses, and for as many hours as he chooses, and for such wages as he thinks he ought to have. This right of his is fundamental, is guaranteed to him by the Constitution, is his most precious economic heritage; and that makes com-

pulsory arbitration a visionary scheme. The demands of some that all railways be owned and operated by the State, or by the municipalities and counties, is an altogether different proposition, the discussion of which need not now concern us. We must take things as they are; and as things are there must be perfect freedom for employees as to the wages for which they will work, and there must be perfect freedom for corporations to manage their own business under the law.

I have said that the employee is master of himself. I add that he has an equal right to association for the improvement of his economic condition. In union there is strength, but it is often forgotten that there must be reason in the strength. The frequency with which strikes, small and great, have ended in disaster and humiliation to the toilers should convince them that the orders which they have obeyed have been foolish and wicked. For in economics folly is crime. The working-

men have been cursed by incompetent leadership. It would be easy to call the roll of men within the last dozen or twenty years who have precipitated great industrial revolts ending in a complete rout. At Homestead, St. Louis, Buffalo, Chicago men bounded into a dizzy prominence, only to tumble into bottomless and hopeless obscurity. The toilers need wise and cautious leaders, men who know what they are about. They have sold themselves into slavery to men who wield a power as autocratic and ruthless as that of the Czar of Russia. There must be enforced idleness and widespread suffering at their command; and every one of us knows upon whom the suffering falls most heavily. The workingman must emancipate himself from the tyranny of an executive committee which prolongs a war at its own discretion and abandons the field only when the cause is completely wrecked. It is not pleasant to say these things, and saying them will anger many. But they

need to be said. The tyranny of corporations is more than matched by the tyranny of labor unions and by the vast powers which their officers are permitted to exercise without danger of being called to account. The yoke is grinding and unendurable, and the manhood of the wage-earner should resent the incapacity and the recklessness which have characterized his leaders.

To sum up, every man has a right to himself, to determine where, and for whom, and for how much he will work. He has a right to association for the improvement of his economic condition, but he should remember that wisdom, and not passion, should determine concerted action; he has a right to strike if in his judgment his condition has become unendurable. But there his rights stop; and even the right to strike should be reasonably exercised only after full conference and due notice. For corporations perform public duties, and they who make contracts with such corporations are in honor bound to

consider the public interests. They demand that no man shall be dismissed without a fair hearing and sufficient notice. It certainly is no more than fair that they shall deal as honorably with the corporations who serve the public. The sudden refusal of thousands of men to run the cars involves as much bad faith toward an innocent public as the failure of managers to discharge their duty. The interests of the public are paramount. These interests have a right to protection from the corporations on the one hand and from their employees on the other hand. And a body of men forfeits public confidence and respect when it paralyzes a corporation without warning and due notice, and then demands that the corporation shall be summarily punished for not fulfilling its obligations. The State might as well make a free gift of its corporate grant to the employees, and let the labor unions run the railroads of the country, which would speedily make an end of all railway traveling.

The right to strike, then, is to be reasonably exercised. It is an extreme measure. It is, in fact, a declaration of economic war. It completely annuls the relations of employer and employee. The posts are vacated and all right to them completely vanishes. Beyond that no strike may go. The very first act of violence, under cover of a strike, no matter by whom instigated or committed, brings a larger question to the front. That question is the right of individuals and of corporations to pursue their vocations peaceably, and, until violence ceases, no duty confronts the public authorities except the sovereign duty of maintaining order. When the first gun was fired upon Fort Sumter the North responded with unmistakable vigor. Party lines went down. Conference and compromise ended. Horace Greeley tried to have a patched-up peace while the guns were booming. But we would have none of it. We insisted upon unconditional surrender. We would make no terms in advance. We

would not talk with rebels until they stopped fighting. So far as the principle is concerned there is not a particle of difference between a rebellion against national authority and a local insurrection; and a local insurrection is not to be tolerated any more than a national rebellion. We have been assured, over and over again, that the strikers have been peaceable. Very well; then the problem is so much simpler, and we have to do only with the toughs who are always ready for pillage and murder. Repudiated by the public, by the corporations, and by the strikers, there is no reason why the rioters should not be summarily dealt with. The enforcement of peace certainly is not an intimidation of the public, nor does it alarm the corporations, and if it reinforces the policy of the strikers, why should anybody find fault with it? Policemen and soldiers are not used to run the cars, nor are they made recruiting agents to fill the depleted ranks of labor, nor are they permitted to compel any man

to do what he does not want to do; why then is their presence resented when pillage and murder threaten to overwhelm us? If men, personally law-abiding, count upon rioting as a means to secure their demands the public will conclude that they are aiders and abettors of violence and enemies of the public peace. It is time that men should understand that when their action is followed by a reign of lawlessness the public does not stop to ask who is responsible for the lawlessness. Its attention is then turned to the lawlessness, and until that is stopped it has no ear for anything else.

I pass to a third matter. I have said that every man has a right to himself, involving the right of free contract. But, somehow, it seems to be assumed that there are some men, and a good many of them, who have no such right. They are supposed to cover themselves with disgrace if they try to earn an honest living. They are hissed at and hooted at by the boys on the streets. They are called "scabs," and

described as the scum of the land. Nobody has a good word for them. They are shunned as if they were the pest. They are coaxed and bribed and threatened and beaten, and nobody seems to care. They have no rights which anybody needs to respect. And this is supposed to be Americanism, this is supposed to be the gospel of humanity! Has it then become a crime in this city, and in this land, for a man to earn bread for himself and for his family? I have certainly misunderstood our American institutions if, in the eyes of the law, the "scab" is not just as good, just as much entitled to protection, as the President of the United States himself. And I have misread my Bible if Jesus Christ did not die to save the "scab" as much as anyone else. The word is a disgrace to our speech, and it has no place in the Christian vocabulary. The law deals with men, and the Gospel deals with men, and neither knows anything about "scabs." Nay, the law is supposed to guard the meanest with

unusual jealousy, and our Gospel sounds a false note when it does not do the same. More than once has the thought come to me when I have seen these men insulted and maltreated, when I have seen the unusual tension of their faces and their hurried glances when some gibe or oath was flung at them, that if Jesus Christ should come to Brooklyn they would find in him a friend, and he would stand on the platform beside them. When a man takes his life in his own hands, that he may earn an honest living, I confess that, for one, I see a hero in his shabby clothes. There is no cowardice in that. There is no unmanliness in that. I have been told that the utterance of such things alienates the workingman and leads him to conclude that the Church is a miserable humbug. But if the support of any class of men must be purchased by the justification of contempt and inhumanity for any other class of men, then that support is not worth the having. I am not the advocate

of corporations; I am not the advocate of strikers; I am not the advocate of "scabs;" but I am, and will never cease to be, the advocate of man, of every man, as the child of God and the heir of heaven and the subject of impartial justice, whether he be rich or poor, whether he be a millionaire or a pauper. I am not the favored son of an aristocrat or millionaire. I am of humble, though of virtuous, parentage. The only legacy which my father left me was that, when I left his roof, at the age of fourteen, I was thoroughly prepared for college. That was better than a legacy of ten thousand dollars, and in doing that for me he was himself my teacher. At fourteen I was thrown upon my own resources, and compelled to earn my own living. I know what it is to be poor. Hunger and cold are no strange experiences to me. But I never ate any but honest bread, and, thanks to the memory of my sainted mother, I have kept my honor unstained. I paid my college and seminary bills out

of my own pocket, or from money loaned me, every dollar of which has been paid back with legal interest. I have known what it is to bind in the wheat and oat fields, leaving the blood of my hands on every sheaf; and I have worked at the carpenter's bench many a month for a dollar a day. I have never asked a favor of any man, and I never mean to. I do not boast of these things, because there is nothing very remarkable in them. I refer to them to show that I am not ashamed of them, and to prove that I am entitled to speak as an advocate of the poor. I belong to their ranks, and my sympathies are with them. There is not an undemocratic fiber in me. To the very marrow I am a man of the people. I care nothing for the Four Hundred. I never have fawned upon nor flattered the rich. But neither have I coddled the poor and treated them as if they were less than men. I know that the poor are proud, and I respect their pride. I would foster in them the same

independence which I have cherished, and with which I would not part for all the gems of the sea and the gold of the mines. I take off my hat to every creature made in the image of God. It is manhood which kindles my enthusiasm, and it is the only thing which does. It is the souls of men which make my pulses leap, and the soul so masters me with the thought of its lordly lineage and supernal destiny that I forget what garments the body wears. There is no line where my sympathy stops, and I think as kindly of the "scab" as I do of the chief magistrate. If that be sin, then I am a hardened, hopeless sinner; and I never mean to repent, nor will I listen to any scurrilous epithets hurled against peaceful men without raising my voice in earnest protest. I want it understood from one end of Brooklyn to the other that this pulpit is absolutely comprehensive in its sympathies; that it believes in the political economy and the Christianity embodied in the first sentence of the

Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

There are other questions upon which I have not touched, and which I do not propose to discuss, simply because they do not fall within my province. I have no opinion on the merits of the controversy between the corporations and the men. There are tribunals where some of these matters in dispute can be canvassed and determined, and the public will welcome the most thorough ventilation. It certainly cannot be said that our municipal courts have displayed any remarkable eagerness to befriend the corporations, and all the evidence points to the fact that lawbreaking on their part will be summarily dealt with; and while the legal sifting proceeds I do not propose to pronounce snap judgment. As a matter of

personal preference it would have pleased me had the increase in wages demanded been quadrupled, but the companies have a right to state their own case, and they are not to be accused of wholesale lying unless the charge of falsehood can be clearly proved. I venture to demur when it is said that Christian economics asks, "How much can I afford to pay?" The law of supply and demand is a natural law, and the Gospel does not set it aside. Labor, in no department, is the measure of value; a thing is valuable only when somebody wants it, and if only one man can supply what everybody wants he can exact his own price; while if a thousand men can supply it the competition will bring the price down, religion or no religion. I have known manufacturers who reaped a profit of tens and hundreds of thousands in one year, and in the next year sustained losses which swept away the gains of two or more years. The operatives in the meantime did not suffer. Their wages

might have been increased twenty per cent during the prosperous year, but in the next year the same policy would have made it necessary to cut the wages down fifty per cent. It seems to be taken for granted by some people that employers are always making more money than they know what to do with; that they sustain no losses by wear and tear of plant and machinery, by fire, by bad faith in creditors, and by a hundred similar things. There must be large forecast of such matters in all business enterprises, and the larger the enterprise the more careful must be the prudent forecast. I venture to say that railway corporations have come to regard strikes, with their sudden cessation of traffic, and concomitant violence, and suits at law, and destruction of property, and general demoralization of discipline, as factors which they must take into account in the conduct of their business. These losses must be made good, and they diminish by just so much the general fund out of which

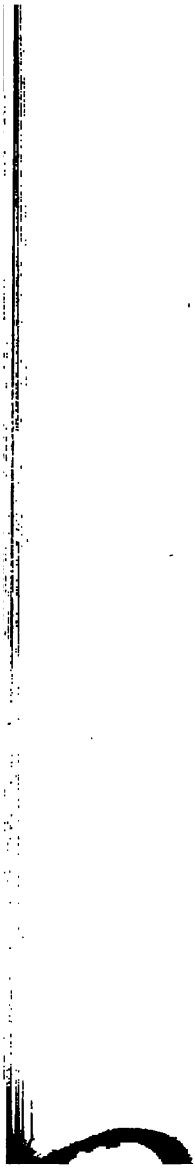
wages must be paid. A strike, followed by violence, hurts the employee more than the employer; and even if the employer is forced into bankruptcy I fail to see how that can help the employee. He has a right to secure all that he can get, and he has a right to get it by association, if he can, but he cannot coerce his employers into compliance with his terms. And I do not see that a corporation surrenders any right in the free employment of its men which an individual possesses and exercises. My own impression is that, as a rule, public corporations are more generous in this matter than individuals. What is called "sweating," where starvation wages are the rule, is confined to individual employers; it is not the crime of public corporations. I repeat, then, that I have no opinion upon this phase of the dispute, which can be settled only by friendly conference, and which violence cannot adjust.

Nor have I anything to say either in criticism or in defense of our municipal au-

thorities, who, I take it for granted, have followed their best judgment, and who are abundantly able to take care of themselves. They have drawn the fire from all sides, and that is generally the case where a third party interferes in a domestic quarrel. Husband and wife finish the fight by mauling the would-be peacemaker. I propose to mind my own business. And my business began when the mob undertook to take Brooklyn by the throat; when stones were hurled, and cars were demolished, and passengers were frightened, and innocent men were brutally kicked in broad daylight, and women were brutally handled by their own sex, and wires were cut, and arson was attempted, and poison was mixed with food, and soldiers were insulted and threatened, and a reign of terror was inaugurated. That roused my righteous wrath. I did not stop to ask who were doing all this. I did not care. I had neither time nor thought for side issues. There was but one issue; it was

the choice between anarchy and government by law, and it was against incipient and defiant anarchy that I called for vigorous measures, for clubs and bayonets and bullets and Gatling guns. And to-day I have not one word to retract, not a single apology to make. Among the anonymous postal cards which were sent to me was one from a man who informed me that, while he had often heard me with pleasure, he had listened to me for the last time. I shall try to be resigned. What surprised me was that any man who had heard me so often should have so misunderstood me as to suppose that I did not believe in a manly religion which fights the devil and all his works, and that I could ever be found to defend or even palliate complicity with violence against property and life. This pulpit stands by good government. This pulpit believes in patriotism and in piety. This pulpit stands for God and for humanity and for a magistracy which carries a sword. This pulpit believes in

law as a part of the Gospel. It believes in justice as a part of love. It believes that swift and summary justice is often the only true love. It believes in Christian manliness and in manly Christianity. It believes in forbearance, and it believes in severity. It does not believe in passion and revenge, but it does believe in crushing the head of the serpent. So long as the present occupant remains that will be the attitude of this pulpit. And if Brooklyn does not want such a pulpit, if in this city of a million souls there is no room for such a preacher, the present speaker is ready to go where his message will be welcome, or to return to the carpenter's bench which he left thirty-five years ago. He knows no gospel which summons him to be a coward, nor one which commissions him to foster cowardice in his hearers. After having said this once, and said it plainly, he hopes and prays that he may never have occasion to say it again. But the bugle will always have the same ring!



GAMBLING.

GAMBLING.

By Hugh Price Hughes, M.A.

AFTER to-day the Sunday Afternoon Conference will be suspended until the autumn. I praise God for the health and strength which have enabled us to hold this conference, without interruption, every Sunday since last October. One member of the brass band has died. With that painful exception all who have taken an official part in this long series of conferences are here to-day in good health and with stronger and brighter hopes than ever for the extension of the kingdom of Jesus Christ. I had intended to recapitulate the subjects of our various discussions and to restate once more our fundamental principle that the Son of God came to save society as well as the individual. But it is always our rule to make everything give

way to urgent practical considerations. I have therefore altered my arrangements and decided to speak about one of the greatest and most ominous of our national curses—gambling.

It is not without significance that we have never before discussed this topic. Why is it that gambling has never come up? Something is doubtless due to the inevitable limitations of time, of capacity, and of sympathy. It is, perhaps, impossible for anyone to be equally alive to all forms of wrong and misery. You and I are preoccupied with many absorbing enterprises and movements. Still, I cannot but feel that our singular silence with respect to the gigantic social curse of gambling is largely due to the fact that Christian men generally are as unawakened in relation to this evil as our great-grandfathers were to the evils of drunkenness and lust. The time has more than come to face, denounce, and attack the gigantic evil of gambling.

Many years ago Mr. James Greenwood, the "amateur casual," declared that London was afflicted with "seven curses." They were (1) neglected children, (2) professional thieves, (3) professional beggars, (4) fallen women, (5) drunkenness, (6) gamblers, and (7) waste of charity. I should like to amend the fourth section of that indictment by saying "fallen men" rather than "fallen women." I agree with a wise philanthropist in the conviction that most of these women are not "fallen," but "knocked down" women. It is the men who are the great curse; the base and cowardly men who prowl the streets at night, insulting every unprotected woman they meet. Stop the demand, and the supply will cease. Arrest these vile scoundrels, and that curse would soon disappear. With respect to the sixth curse, which is our subject to-day, Mr. Greenwood went so far, even at that date, as to say that gambling "causes perhaps more ruin and irreparable dismay than any other

two of the curses of London." Without indorsing that very strong statement, which comes, however, from the pen of one who writes with authority, we must admit that gambling has become a gigantic curse. It is also indisputable that since Mr. Greenwood wrote the evil has increased to an appalling extent.

Fleet Street is now almost impassable when the telegraphed result of some race is expected at the offices of the sporting journals. When the telegram appears in the window hundreds of fools and scoundrels rush about Fleet Street in a state of lunatic excitement. The most distressing feature of this madness is to see in that wild crowd so many workingmen, who, in their shirt sleeves, dash out of the printing houses and other offices of the neighborhood to learn the result. Another appalling evidence of the spread of gambling is the immense space and prominence which betting intelligence occupies in the ordinary newspapers. So far as I am aware,

The Leeds Mercury is the only English daily which has the moral strength to resist the vile contagion. It is particularly gratifying to me, as a Welshman, to be reminded that the vernacular newspapers of my native country are free from this evil. When will the great journals of England rise to the moral level of their contemporaries in the little principality of Wales? The sad connivance of the ordinary journals does not satisfy the demands of the betting fraternity. They have their own newspapers, and even their daily newspapers. The Christian Churches have long felt the need of a daily newspaper devoted to the high interests of Christianity. We have not yet the strength and unity to secure that, but the gamblers have already more than one flourishing daily of their own.

It is impossible to exaggerate the evils of gambling. Well are the resorts of gamblers called "hells." Gambling, like drunkenness, becomes at last an over-

powering appetite, which the victim is helpless to resist. I shall never forget the first gambler who came under my pastoral notice. He was in a good social position, a sober and industrious man; he had a Christian wife and a healthy, happy family; but the betting mania took possession of him. He often wept and trembled under the word of God. I could not imagine why he did not yield to Christ. At last I discovered the chain of adamant which bound him to the depths of hell. It was gambling, Ever and anon the newspapers give us a momentary glance at the devilry and anguish of gambling. Ruin, despair, suicide—these are the three swift steps by which many a gambler passes to his doom. Is it not time to face this incalculable woe, and to attack it?

Is gambling wrong? Must we condemn it absolutely and unhesitatingly? Or can we make terms with it? There are many sophisms in the air. Young men are taught to say that one may do what he likes with

his own, and that there is no sin in betting, especially if you bet only for small amounts. When I was at Oxford a great dignitary came to preach on this subject before the undergraduates, and informed an immense crowd of young Englishmen (unless he was entirely misunderstood) that there was no harm in betting if the sum you risked did not exceed a shilling, or, at the outside, half a crown! But that is not the way to deal with young men. What in the world has the amount of the bet to do with it? Away with all such deadly trifling. On broad, intelligible grounds gambling is either right or wrong. Which is it?

Now, in the first place, even if gambling were not wrong in itself, its actual deadly effects would make it hateful to every true man. The only honorable and legitimate rule of human conduct is expressed in my text: "Let no man seek his own, but each his neighbor's good." And the practical result is found in St. Paul's memorable words: "All things are lawful, but all

things are not expedient." You may remember a beautiful episode in the life of David. Three of the bravest of his officers made their way through the Philistine camp, and at the risk of their lives obtained water from the cool well of Bethlehem to quench David's thirst. But their magnanimous leader refused to drink it. He poured it forth as an offering to God, exclaiming, "Be it far from me, O Lord, that I should do this: shall I drink the blood of the men who went in jeopardy of their lives?" (2 Sam. xxiii, 17.) And if David, who lived so long ago, would not for very brotherliness receive pleasure at so great a risk to other men, shall we gamble at the price of broken hearts and shattered homes?

But, secondly, apart altogether from this imperative consideration, gambling is positively and absolutely wrong, and that for two reasons. In the first place, it promotes gain without merit. It rewards those who do not deserve reward. The wholesome law of life is that man shall eat his bread

in the sweat of his face, and where that law is systematically violated the violation is a curse to all concerned. St. Paul says: "Let him that stole steal no more: but rather let him labor, working with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have whereof to give to him that hath need" (Eph. iv, 28). This noble precept does not mean that every man must be a manual laborer. A man may often work with his brain much more laboriously and serviceably than with his hand. But it is the indisputable teaching of St. Paul that, either with hand or with brain, every man ought to work for the public good. He even went so far as to say, "If any will not work, neither let him eat" (2 Thess. iii, 10). What an outcry there would have been if I had uttered so revolutionary a sentiment as that! But some day, I venture to prophesy, the doctrine of St. Paul will be embodied in the legislation of Christian States. Some day the most despised outcast of human society will be the im-

moral wretch who does nothing with brain or hand to deserve the bread he eats.

Probably when that millennial day arrives the old Jewish custom of teaching everybody a trade will be revived. It proved an inestimable service to St. Paul himself that he was able to fall back upon his trade as a tentmaker. I might say that the Jewish custom is already established in the great house of Hohenzollern. The second German emperor, whose death we so deeply lament, was a jeweler, and a first-class jeweler. Technical education should be universal, and every man should be able, if the occasion arose, to "work with his hands the thing that is good," not that he might be able to curse his children with excessive wealth, but that "he may have whereof to give to him that hath need." Now, gambling is the opposite of all this. It gives to him who has not toiled and who does not deserve. It flatly contradicts the rule of the divine judgment which renders to every man according to his work. It

directly obstructs the tendency of Christian civilization. It destroys the precious and vital principles of industry and thrift. That is the first fatal objection to gambling.

The second absolute objection is, if possible, even stronger. It promotes gain through another's loss. It is, therefore, antisocial and antichristian. All lawful trade promotes mutual advantages. This is an unfailing test of legitimate transactions. Everything that benefits you by injuring your neighbor is wrong.

Mr. Herbert Spencer has expressed these fundamental objections to gambling very clearly in one of the most interesting and valuable of his writings, *The Study of Sociology*, page 306. "Listen," he says, "to a conversation about gambling; and, where reprobation is expressed, note the grounds of the reprobation. That it tends toward the ruin of the gambler; that it risks the welfare of family and friends; that it alienates from business and leads into bad company—these, and such as

these, are the reasons given for condemning the practice. Rarely is there any recognition of the fundamental reason. Rarely is gambling condemned because it is a kind of action by which pleasure is obtained at the cost of pain to another. The normal obtainment of gratification, or of the money which purchases gratification, implies, firstly, that there has been put forth equivalent effort of a kind which in some way furthers the general good; and implies, secondly, that those from whom the money is received get, directly or indirectly, equivalent satisfactions. But in gambling the opposite happens. Benefit received does not imply effort put forth, and the happiness of the winner involves the misery of the loser. This kind of action is therefore essentially antisocial—sears the sympathies, cultivates a hard egoism, and so produces a general deterioration of character and conduct."

For these reasons every gambler is either a fool or a scoundrel or both.

We must ask one other question before we close: How can we arrest this gigantic and unmitigated evil? First of all, has not the time come to form an antigambling society for the purpose of creating and directing public opinion upon the question? We have societies for the purpose of suppressing drunkenness, lust, and war, and we know what vast changes in opinion and law they have already effected. Why could we not do the same thing in opposition to gambling? The time has come to boycott all gamblers. They ought especially to be expelled from the House of Commons. Nothing would do more to impress the public conscience than to make gambling a moral disqualification for a seat in Parliament. Rational Christians can already see that debauchees, drunkards, and gamblers are utterly unfit to make the laws of England. We must agitate for the rigid exclusion of such enemies of mankind. We must make it as impossible for them as it would be for a pirate to be elected. When

we have cleansed Parliament of their polluting presence the task of cleansing minor public bodies will be comparatively easy. We ought, further, to hold public meetings, preach sermons, and take pledges against gambling. We should also warn children in day and Sunday schools against this insidious and aggressive curse.

But it will not be enough to use all these methods of moral suasion. We must also invoke the aid of law. The law already prohibits lotteries. The principle is conceded. The law also prohibits betting houses on the well-recognized ground that, while there are many offenses which cannot be made criminal, the intervention of a third party to promote or facilitate these offenses comes legitimately within the scope of repressive law. Betting houses and betting clubs must be put down by the police, as they have been in the past, but much more vigorously. There must, however, be no distinction between rich and poor. Police raids have often been

made upon the betting houses of the poor and of foreigners. The notorious haunts of aristocratic gambling must no longer be spared.

But I have reserved until last the most effectual, perhaps the only effectual remedy to gambling, and that is to prohibit by law the publication of betting intelligence in any newspaper. The cheap newspapers are the great agency which has carried the temptations of gambling to every family in the land. An eminent Russian statesman said a few weeks ago that there would be no war in Europe if he were permitted to hang all the editors of newspapers. I would guarantee the suppression of English gambling on the same terms. It is difficult to realize the immense power of the press. It is with great reluctance that high-class journals have opened their columns to betting intelligence. All upright editors would welcome the assistance of the law in excluding that degrading matter. They can scarcely venture to ex-

clude it until their dangerous rivals are also compelled to do the same. The present government has passed a law to fine and mprison journalists who report the proceedings of suppressed branches of the National League. That method might, without hesitation, be employed to suppress gambling. Virtuous and humane men ought not to have two opinions about its legitimacy in relation to this unquestionable evil. Heavy fines and, if they fail, imprisonment ought to be the swift punishment of all editors, printers, and newspaper proprietors who publish betting intelligence. When that law is passed we shall have laid our ax at the very root of the upas tree of gambling.

THE PROBLEM OF THE CHILDREN.

THE PROBLEM OF THE CHILDREN.

By Jacob A. Riis.

THE problem of the children becomes to the last degree perplexing. For, be it remembered, these children, with the training they receive—or do not receive—with the instincts they inherit and absorb in their growing up, are to be our future rulers, if our theory of government is worth anything. More than a working majority of our voters now register from the tenements. I counted the other day the little ones, up to ten years or so, in a Bayard Street tenement that for a yard has a triangular space in the center with sides fourteen or fifteen feet long, just room enough for a row of ill-smelling closets at the base of the triangle and a hydrant at the apex. There was about as much light in this "yard" as in the aver-

age cellar. I gave up my self-imposed task in despair when I had counted one hundred and twenty-eight in forty families. Thirteen I had missed, or not found in. Applying the average for the forty to the whole fifty-three, the house contained one hundred and seventy children. It is not the only time I have had to give up such census work. I have in mind an alley—an inlet, rather, to a row of rear tenements—that is either two or four feet wide, according as the wall of the crazy old building that gives on it bulges out or in. I tried to count the children that swarmed there, but could not. Sometimes I have doubted that anybody knows just how many there are about. Bodies of drowned children turn up in the rivers right along in summer whom no one seems to know anything about. When last spring some workmen, while moving a pile of lumber on a North River pier, found under the last plank the body of a little lad crushed to death, no one had missed a boy, though

his parents afterward turned up. The truant officer assuredly does not know, though he spends his life trying to find out, somewhat illogically, perhaps, since the department that employs him admits that thousands of poor children are crowded out of the schools year by year for want of room. There was a big tenement in the Sixth Ward, now happily appropriated by the beneficent spirit of business that blots out so many foul spots in New York—it figured not long ago in the official reports as "an out-and-out hog-pen"—that had a record of one hundred and two arrests in four years among its four hundred and seventy-eight tenants, fifty-seven of them for drunken and disorderly conduct. I do not know how many children there were in it, but the inspector reported that he found only seven in the whole house who owned that they went to school. The rest gathered all the instruction they received running for beer for their elders. Some of them claimed

the "flat" as their home as a mere matter of form. They slept in the streets at night. The official came upon a little party of four, drinking beer out of the cover of a milk can in the hallway. They were of the seven good boys, and proved their claim to the title by offering him some.

The old question, what to do with the boy, assumes a new and serious phase in the tenements. Under the best conditions found there it is not easily answered. In nine cases out of ten he would make an excellent mechanic if trained early to work at a trade, for he is neither dull nor slow; but the shortsighted despotism of the trades unions has practically closed that avenue to him. Trade schools, however excellent, cannot supply the opportunity thus denied him, and at the outset the boy stands condemned by his own to low and ill-paid drudgery, held down by the hand that of all should labor to raise him. Home, the greatest factor of all in the training of

the young, means nothing to him but a pigeonhole in a coop along with so many other human animals. Its influence is scarcely of the elevating kind, if it have any. The very games at which he takes a hand in the street become polluting in its atmosphere. With no steady hand to guide him the boy takes naturally to idle ways. Caught in the street by the truant officer, or by the agents of the children's societies, peddling, perhaps, or begging, to help out the family resources, he runs the risk of being sent to a reformatory, where contact with vicious boys older than himself soon develops the latent possibilities for evil that lie hidden in him. The city has no truant home in which to keep him, and all efforts of the children's friends to enforce school attendance are paralyzed by this want. The risk of the reformatory is too great. What is done in the end is to let him take chances—with the chances all against him. The result is the rough young savage, familiar from the street.

Rough as he is, if anyone doubts that this child of common clay have in him the instinct of beauty, of love for the ideal of which his life has no embodiment, let him put the matter to the test. Let him take into a tenement block a handful of flowers from the fields, and watch the brightened faces, the sudden abandonment of play and fight that go ever hand in hand where there is no elbow room, the wild entreaty for "posies," the eager love with which the little messengers of peace are shielded, once possessed; then let him change his mind. I have seen an armful of daisies keep the peace of a block better than a policeman and his club, seen instincts awaken under their gentle appeal, whose very existence the soil in which they grew made seem a mockery. I have not forgotten the deputation of ragamuffins from a Mulberry Street alley that knocked at my office door one morning on a mysterious expedition for flowers, not for themselves, but for "a lady," and having obtained what

they wanted trooped off to bestow them, a ragged and dirty little band, with a solemnity that was quite unusual. It was not until an old man called the next day to thank me for the flowers that I found out they had decked the bier of a pauper in the dark rear room where she lay waiting in her pine board coffin for the city's hearse. Yet, as I knew, that dismal alley, with its bare brick walls, between which no sun ever rose or set, was the world of those children. It filled their young lives. Probably not one of them had ever been out of the sight of it. They were too dirty, too ragged, and too generally disreputable, too well hidden in their slum besides, to come into line with the Fresh Air summer boarders.

With such human instincts and cravings, forever unsatisfied, turned into a haunting curse, with appetite ground to keenest edge by a hunger that is never fed, the children of the poor grow up in joyless homes to lives of wearisome toil that claims

them at an age when the play of their happier fellows has but just begun. Has a yard of turf been laid and a vine been coaxed to grow within their reach, they are banished and barred out from it as from a heaven that is not for such as they. I came upon a couple of youngsters in a Mulberry Street yard a while ago that were chalking on the fence their first lesson in "writin'." And this is what they wrote: "Keeb of te Grass." They had it by heart, for there was not, I verily believe, a green sod within a quarter of a mile. Home to them is an empty name. Pleasure? A gentleman once catechised a ragged class in a downtown public school on this point and recorded the result: Out of forty-eight boys twenty had never seen the Brooklyn Bridge that was scarcely five minutes' walk away; three only had been in Central Park, fifteen had known the joy of a ride in a horse car. The street, with its ash barrels and its dirt, the river that runs foul with mud, are their domain. What train-

ing they receive is picked up there. And they are apt pupils. If the mud and the dirt are easily reflected in their lives, what wonder? Scarce half-grown such lads as these confront the world with the challenge to give them their due, too long withheld, or—. Our jails supply the answer to the alternative.

A little fellow who seemed clad in but a single rag was among the flotsam and jetsam stranded at Police Headquarters one day last summer. No one knew where he came from or where he belonged. The boy himself knew as little about it as anybody, and was the least anxious to have light shed on the subject after he had spent a night in the matron's nursery. The discovery that beds were provided for boys to sleep in there, and that he could have "a whole egg" and three slices of bread for breakfast, put him on the best of terms with the world in general, and he decided that Headquarters was "a bully place." He sang "McGinty" all through, with

Tenth Avenue variations, for the police, and then settled down to the serious business of giving an account of himself. The examination went on after this fashion:

"Where do you go to church, my boy?"

"We don't have no clothes to go to church." And indeed his appearance, as he was, in the door of any New York church would have caused a sensation.

"Well, where do you go to school, then?"

"I don't go to school," with a snort of contempt.

"Where do you buy your bread?"

"We don't buy no bread; we buy beer," said the boy, and it was eventually the saloon that led the police as a landmark to his "home." It was worthy of the boy. As he had said, his only bed was a heap of dirty straw on the floor, his daily diet a crust in the morning, nothing else.

Into the rooms of the Children's Aid Society were led two little girls whose father had "busted up the house" and put

them on the street after their mother died. Another, who was turned out by her stepmother "because she had five of her own and could not afford to keep her," could not remember ever having been in church or Sunday school, and only knew the name of Jesus through hearing people swear by it. She had no idea what they meant. These were specimens of the overflow from the tenements of our home heathen that are growing up in New York's streets to-day, while tender-hearted men and women are busying themselves with the socks and the hereafter of well-fed little Hottentots thousands of miles away. According to Canon Taylor, of York, one hundred and nine missionaries in the four fields of Persia, Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt spent one year and sixty thousand dollars in converting one little heathen girl. If there is nothing the matter with those missionaries they might come to New York with a good deal better prospect of success.

By those who lay flattering unction to their souls in the knowledge that to-day New York has, at all events, no brood of the gutters of tender years that can be homeless long unheeded, let it be remembered well through what effort this judgment has been averted. In thirty-seven years the Children's Aid Society, that came into existence as an emphatic protest against the tenement corruption of the young, has sheltered quite three hundred thousand outcast, homeless, and orphaned children in its lodging houses, and has found homes in the West for seventy thousand that had none. Doubtless, as a mere stroke of finance, the five millions and a half thus spent were a wiser investment than to have let them grow up thieves and thugs. In the last fifteen years of this tireless battle for the safety of the State the intervention of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children has been invoked for 138,891 little ones; it has thrown its protection around more than

twenty-five thousand helpless children, and has convicted nearly sixteen thousand wretches of child beating and abuse. Add to this the standing army of fifteen thousand dependent children in New York's asylums and institutions, and some idea is gained of the crop that is garnered day by day in the tenements, of the enormous force employed to check their inroads on our social life, and of the cause for apprehension that would exist did their efforts flag for ever so brief a time.

Nothing is now better understood than that the rescue of the children is the key to the problem of city poverty, as presented for our solution to-day; that character may be formed where to reform it would be a hopeless task. The concurrent testimony of all who have to undertake it at a later stage, that the young are naturally neither vicious nor hardened, simply weak and undeveloped, except by the bad influence of the street, makes this duty all the more urgent as well as hopeful. Helping

hands are held out on every side. To private charity the municipality leaves the entire care of its proletariat of tender years, lulling its conscience to sleep with liberal appropriations of money to foot the bills. Indeed, it is held by those whose opinions are entitled to weight that it is far too liberal a paymaster for its own best interests and those of its wards. It deals with the evil in the seed to a limited extent in gathering in the outcast babies from the streets. To the ripe fruit the gates of its prisons, its reformatories, and its workhouses are opened wide the year round. What the showing would be at this end of the line were it not for the barriers wise charity has thrown across the broad highway to ruin—is building day by day—may be measured by such results as those quoted above in the span of a single life.

THE REDEMPTION OF THE SLUMS.

THE REDEMPTION OF THE SLUMS.

By H. G. Mitchell, S.T.D.

THERE are those who are disposed to take a gloomy view of the future of Christianity. To our mind there never was a better prospect of its final prevalence. There are various reasons for such confidence, one of which is found in the fact that we are at last beginning to realize our duty to the cities, and especially those parts of them sometimes called "the slums." It was high time to do something. We need not here describe the growth of the cities in proportion to that of the rural districts of our country. Is it not written in the books of the Census Bureau? Moreover, the startling figures have been repeatedly published in the journals of the day and made the text of many an earnest exhortation from the pulpit and the plat-

form. It is, likewise, unnecessary to dwell on the effect upon the morality of the cities of this rapid increase in their size, since it is pretty well understood that it is precisely "the dregs of society" that tend to settle in the centers of population. The cities, then, have in the last decades grown as rapidly, if not more so, in wickedness as they have in the number of their inhabitants. What, meanwhile, has the Church been doing? Much, doubtless; but anyone who will take pains to investigate the matter will find that, except in one of its branches, its growth has been almost entirely among the better classes. The Catholics alone have held their own or made advancements in the slums of our cities. "Yes," some will say, "and that is the reason why they are no better." We should say, rather, that it is the reason why they are no worse; for though, of course, we cannot approve of all the doctrines and methods of Romanism, we are convinced that thousands are deterred

from vice and crime, and other multitudes sustained in virtuous courses through its influence, and that, therefore, the dark corners of our cities are not as dark as they would have been had the priest, too, gone when the minister deserted them.

Yes, "deserted," severe as it may seem, is the proper term to use in this connection; for not only have the Protestants, until lately, not grown in the districts in question, but they have actually withdrawn from them and sold their houses of worship to the Catholics. This is as true of the Methodists as of the other denominations. In Boston, for example, not only the old church on North Bennett Street, but Father Taylor's Bethel, the scene of some of the most glorious achievements of Methodism, is now a Catholic sanctuary. Of course, we know why the Protestants left the North End of Boston and the corresponding quarters of other cities. "Our members," they said, "are moving to the newer wards or into the suburbs,

and the church must go with them." That might be a reason for moving a club, but it is not a warrant for leaving a house of worship. In the first place, it assumes the contrary of a fundamental principle of Christianity. It implies that the religious advantages to be given to a community may be measured by the ability or the disposition of the said community to pay for them. Jesus, however, said, "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister;" and the Church deserves the name Christian only when, as it has done in all its missionary enterprises, it gives as freely as it has received. The desertion of these so-called "downtown churches" has, in many cases, been the more culpable because it was financially unnecessary. Sometime ago we heard a story of a minister who was called from a distant field to serve a church that was, by many of its official members, supposed to be on the verge of dissolution. When he arrived he asked them the reason of their

fears. "Why," they replied, "our people are moving away, and those that are taking their places in the neighborhood are of another sort." "Then," said he, "let's have another sort of church." He went to work on this idea of adapting his church to its environment, and it immediately entered upon a new period of prosperity, which still continues. Only a few years ago there was a deal of talk about abandoning Grace Church, in Boston; but there happened to be among its members a number of men who loved it enough to make some exertion to save it, and now, although it is not so well situated as it might be, it is one of the most prosperous Methodist societies in the city. These are our reasons for using the term "desertion."

In this hasty sketch of our relation to the task of redeeming the slums we have used the past tense. We believe that the Methodists, like the other Protestant denominations, have mistaken the mind of

God and failed of accomplishing their entire mission in their eagerness to acquire influence among the respectable; but we are equally convinced that Protestants generally are awaking to their responsibility to the hitherto neglected classes, and that there is henceforth to be increasing effort for their salvation. It is a divinely inspired movement. Let us see how it may best be furthered.

Most Methodists, we suppose, if asked on what means we must chiefly rely to redeem the slums, would, without much hesitation, reply, "The preaching of the Gospel." They would open missions in convenient places and introduce the usual methods of winning souls. This seems to be the idea of the official declaration of the Church with respect to our work in the cities. It commends to us the so-called "City Evangelization Union," the object of whose branches is to furnish aid to needy churches, organize new church enterprises, and conduct mission work

among the religiously destitute (Discipline, ¶ 364). We believe in preaching, and we would have the Gospel, the news of God's love for men, proclaimed wherever they could be gathered to listen to the message. Such a plan would require a goodly number of preachers; for it is not a difficult matter, in a large city, to get a congregation. In the summer one can in a few minutes, if allowed to do so, collect a crowd about one in the street or on the Common, and with simple, earnest words hold them until the object of such a meeting is accomplished. In the winter it is a still simpler matter. Then it is only necessary to secure a room on or near a thoroughfare where there is plenty of light and warmth, and there will be a congregation whenever it is open. If notice be given that those who have no other place to lodge will be allowed to sleep on the floor after the service every seat will be filled, and, however long the meeting may last, few will lose their patience. On Sunday

one is almost sure to find from twenty-five to a hundred men more or less disposed to be entertained at any of the cheap lodging houses.

To be sure, a crowd of this sort does not furnish the best material for saints. It is, in fact, largely composed of the "bummers," whose only employment is that of collecting nickels from the thoughtlessly benevolent for the support of rumsellers. Not long ago a gentleman saw one of them receive a coin from another passer, and, being curious to know how he would use the money, followed him. He went directly to the nearest saloon and presently reappeared, wiping his mouth and showing other signs of temporary satisfaction. The gentleman waited until he was out of sight, and then, going into the saloon, asked the proprietor what the man had purchased. "A glass of brandy," said the rumseller; "and he drank it to the health of the fool that gave him the money to pay for it." It is not

often that a man of this stamp is touched by the Gospel. If he seems affected he will usually be found to be trying to "work" the missionary for "the price of a meal" or out of pure mischief. In addition to these incorrigibles, however, there are apt to come to a mission persons of a different character—young men recovering from "a spree," to find themselves robbed and deserted, with others, male and female, who are seeking a place to spend an idle hour. They are attracted by the singing; but their interest does not always stop there, for now and then one is moved by the prayers and exhortations heard to begin a better life. These, and not the bummers—who need a thorough course of the law to be prepared for the Gospel—are the class that the mission really reaches; and if they were far fewer than they are it would be worth while to rake the filth of the slums to save them.

Let us, then, establish missions and

preach the Gospel in its simple power to as many as possible. But suppose that a young man, out of work and utterly destitute, is converted. What next? Is he, at the close of the meeting, to be turned into the street with a "God bless you! Be faithful!" to sleep on a doorstep or find a refuge in the nearest police station? Or is he to be provided with a ticket and sent to a neighboring lodging house, to lie in filth, pestered by vermin, but more sorely tortured by the drivel or profanity of his drunken roommates? And, if he endures—as some, thank God! have done—this ordeal, when he rises in the morning, resolved to be a man among men, is anything to be done for him; or is he to be left to wander from shop to shop or from store to store, receiving thoughtlessly and contemptuously curt answers to his appeals for a place to earn an honest living, until his strength is exhausted and he is tempted to doubt the existence "of Christian charity under the sun?" The case

of a woman who has been a "sinner," suggested by the above quotation, is even more critical. We recently heard of two such of whom the sister in charge of a mission complained that, although they "started," they almost immediately returned to their old life. The friend to whom the complaint was made in her next letter asked, "Did anyone take any pains to prevent those girls from falling again?" And there was no answer.

We have directed attention to the disreputable, because they are usually most numerous at English-speaking missions; but the denizens of the slums are not all of this sort. There is a large class of the simply unfortunate. We are reminded, first, of the women—the widows obliged, sick or well, to toil incessantly to support themselves and, perhaps in addition, a family of helpless children; and the worse than widowed whose lot it is to be the wives of drunken husbands. Now and then one of these poor creatures slips into

a mission. The warmth of the place does her good, and, although she may not join audibly in the singing, the hymns sung carry her thankful thoughts heavenward. One of the workers approaches her. Something in her expression tells him that she is a child of God. What is his duty, as a representative of the Church of Christ, to this unfortunate sister? Shall he look into her pinched and shrunken face and merely ask the stereotyped question, "Are you saved?" and pass to the next, while she murmurs, "My God! is that all?" Or is there a further obligation? A few months ago two women, the widow of a once prosperous New England farmer, and her daughter, were found in a cellar in Boston in a starving condition. A little later a poor woman actually died for the want of the food suited to her condition after childbirth. Does the Church, as a Church, care for none of these things?

And the children? The slums swarm with them. They will come to the mis-

sion. At first they will be rude and boisterous, but most of them will finally respond to proper treatment. Of course, the missionary will organize a Sunday school. Have we not heard that "the Sunday school is the nursery of the Church?" But is he to be satisfied with admitting them once a week to a warm and clean, if not otherwise very attractive, place, and giving them a single lesson from the Bible, leaving them to spend the rest of the seven days in the garrets and cellars that they have been taught to call their homes, or on streets lined with rumshops and alive with loafers and prostitutes? Is it of no consequence to him or to the denomination that he represents where and how these future men and women, part of whom, at least, will one day have a voice in the government of their city and country, amuse themselves?

The foreign element, especially the Jews and the Italians, is becoming an important one in the make-up of the population

of the slums, and Protestants are very wisely giving it more and more attention. It is clearly an advantage to have these foreigners where they can be so easily reached and influenced. Here, however, as in other cases, any attempt at evangelization starts a number of serious questions. For example, we open a mission for Jews, and in process of time a young man, finding himself convinced that Jesus is the Messiah, comes to the missionary for advice. The latter is naturally elated and impelled to apply the exhortation, "Stand up for Jesus." His convert replies: "I live with my parents and work for a Jewish employer. If I profess Christianity I shall not only be turned out of my home and deprived of the means of getting a living, but I shall be practically banished from the Jewish quarter. To whom shall I go, and how shall I earn my bread?"

Among the Italians we are met by another class of questions. They are mostly simple peasants, the prey of any sharper

who chooses to take advantage of them. Their worst enemies are certain of their own countrymen, the "bosses" through whom they get employment, and the so-called bankers to whom they intrust their earnings. The bosses—often, we blush to acknowledge, with the knowledge and connivance of American contractors—charge them a fee of from two to five dollars for a job at reduced wages, demand exorbitant prices for the wretched food and shelter furnished them, and, finally, on the slightest pretext, discharge them to make room for new victims. The bankers then take what is left; but, instead of sending it to waiting wives and children in Italy, put it into their own pockets and —disappear. Some months ago there came to our country one of these peasants, who had mortgaged a little home that he owned to pay his passage. He found work and, after a time, succeeded in saving enough to cancel the mortgage. He took the money to an Italian banker to be sent

to his wife and supposed that his home was redeemed. In a few weeks the banker failed, and about the same time he heard that the mortgage had been foreclosed and his wife and baby turned into the street. Meanwhile, he had lost his job, so that he was not only powerless to help his family, but was himself on the verge of starvation. He had, also, found his way to the mission and become a devout Christian. What would have been an appropriate text for a sermon or exhortation in his case? Or was something besides a sermon in order? In another outrage an American was the offender. A family that had just immigrated hired two or three rooms, and went to a dealer who sold goods on the "installment plan" to buy some simple furniture. The bill amounted to two hundred and twenty-five dollars, on which they paid one hundred and twenty-five, agreeing to bring a certain part of the balance monthly until the debt was canceled. The poor debtor, however, although he sought it

faithfully, could get no work, so that after a while he was obliged to confess that he could not fulfill his agreement. The matter was then brought to the attention of some Protestant friends, who at once notified the dealer to remove his goods, and then furnished the rooms with as much and equally good furniture for eighty-seven dollars! This Italian, also, was a member of a mission. Ought a missionary to such people to see them fleeced in this fashion without an effort to punish or prevent it?

We have dwelt thus at length on missions pure and simple for the purpose of showing, as we think that we have, their inadequacy as a means of redeeming the slums. We are inclined to think that the importance of mere preaching in other fields has been overestimated. We are sure that among the classes under consideration it is not effectual unless supplemented by other agencies. It is not surprising, therefore, that so many missions have proven failures. Nor is it sur-

prising to find, on turning to the New Testament, that the message of the preacher is not the whole of Christianity. When John the Baptist sent to inquire whether He of whom he had heard was, indeed, the hope of the world, Jesus sent word to him, "The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them." Here our Saviour distinctly describes preaching as only a part of his mission, one of the various ways in which he was sent to reveal the love of God to men. His ministry, from beginning to end, was a constant development of this thought. He preached when he had opportunity; but he seems to have spent more time in healing the sick and otherwise supplying the physical needs of his countrymen than he did in talking to the multitudes that thronged him. When he sent his disciples on their first independent mission he instructed

them to follow his example. "Go," he said, "and as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand;" but he at once added, "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give." It was evidently his intention that his followers, filled with his spirit, should, like him, go about doing good. The saints in all ages have imitated their Master in this respect. Our own Wesley was an indefatigable friend of the poor and the unfortunate, as well as a great preacher. He founded schools and dispensaries for their benefit. He also gave us a rule that has always seemed to us one of the most admirable statements of the essence of practical Christianity ever framed—that which requires that the desire for salvation be evidenced by "doing good of every possible sort and, as far as possible, to all men."

What, then, is our duty as Methodists, as Christians, to the classes in question? We must, of course, win the wicked and

comfort the godly; but if we would be perfect we cannot stop there. They are all, for one reason or another, handicapped in the race of life. This fact is their sufficient claim upon our sympathy and assistance. If they are hungry and naked we must see that they are fed and clothed. If they are homeless we must find shelter for them. If they are sick or in prison we must minister to them. If they are ignorant, and thus exposed to harm of any sort, we must teach them the things essential to their welfare. If they are oppressed we must do our utmost to rescue and defend them. True, as someone will, perhaps, suggest, this is really the duty of the community. The community, however, is so imperfectly civilized, not to say Christianized, that it cannot be depended upon to do its duty. The Church, therefore, as it has heretofore done, must come to the rescue and continue to serve tables, if necessary, until "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"

shall have become the fundamental law of society.

It is clear that what is to be done cannot be done by a few missionaries and meetings in vacant stores or simple chapels. There must be permanent plants, adapted to various uses, like those of the Young Men's Christian Association, in the neglected quarters, and help enough to manage them. The precise form of organization for the work is not important. It may be a "settlement," where a company of young people devoted to good works live, and whence they reach the neglected about them. A home of this sort is a light in which multitudes are made to rejoice. The work required can, however, be done by a church properly organized, it seems to us, as well as by a "settlement." Let the people in any city who have the redemption of the slums at heart return to the abandoned field, build a suitable structure, and make it their church, supporting its pastor and his assistants

with their money and consecrating a portion of their time to personal work in the neighborhood, and the result will be marvelous. Where churches convenient for the purpose already exist they can be restored to influence and prosperity by introducing proper features into their management. If this cannot be done by the membership the other churches of the city must lend a hand, and that with the workers, as well as money. We might enlarge upon this subject of ways and means, but it is not necessary. There is no difficulty in finding young men and women willing to devote themselves to this inspiring work—some, entirely, for little more than a bare support; others, to the extent of their leisure from other duties, without compensation. As for money, there is almost no limit to the amount that can be had for the prosecution of successful efforts in this direction.

The success of the institutional method, or the hand-to-hand grapple with vice and

misery, is no longer in question. An entire article would be too short to describe the results in any given field. We can only briefly refer to them. In the first place, a vast amount of suffering is relieved. The sick are nursed, the hungry fed, the homeless sheltered, and the naked furnished with clothing. Those who are handicapped by ignorance or any other similar disability are, as far as possible, relieved of their burdens. Thus, for example, hundreds of foreigners are taught to write their own and to speak the English language, while almost as many women are instructed in the arts of the housewife. Multitudes of children are gathered into clubs and classes where they learn all sorts of valuable things, not the least important of which are consideration for one another and admiration for the unselfishness of their leaders and instructors. Nor is this all. The agents through whom these blessings are distributed are, first of all, disciples of Jesus. What they do they

do "in his name." Hence, it is natural that their ministry in temporal things should prove a preparation for the Gospel. As a matter of fact their beneficiaries are constantly being gathered into the Church. Even Jews forget the hatred engendered by centuries of contempt and persecution and learn to love our Saviour. A young Jewess in consumption, who was nursed by a visitor from the neighboring "settlement," was so touched by the tenderness with which she was treated that when she died she died a Christian. A class of young Jews, who, when they began their studies in a club formed for their benefit, stipulated that the subject of religion should not be introduced into their meetings, after a year asked their leader to arrange a service for them on Sunday.

Work of this kind has not, however, had the success that is in store for it. The institutions described are gradually kindling in the people of the slums themselves a local enthusiasm. On the other